STUDIES
IN THE
BOOK OF DANIEL

A DISCUSSION OF THE HISTORICAL QUESTIONS

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INTRODUCTION

This volume is concerned especially with the objections made to the historical statements contained in the book of Daniel, and treats incidentally of chronological, geographical, and philosophical questions. In a second volume, it is my intention to discuss the objections made against the book on the ground of philological assumptions based on the nature of the Hebrew and Aramaic in which it is written. In a third volume, I shall discuss Daniel's relation to the canon of the Old Testament as determining the date of the book, and in connection with this the silence of Ecclesiasticus with reference to Daniel, the alleged absence of an observable influence of Daniel upon post-captivity literature, and the whole matter of apocalyptic literature, especially in its relation to predictive prophecy.

The *method* pursued is to give first of all a discussion of some of the principles involved in the objections considered in the pages following; then, to state the objections with the assumptions on which they are based; next, to give the reasons why these assumptions are adjudged to be false; and, lastly, to sum up in a few words the conclusions to be derived from the discussion. As to the details of my method, it will be observed that I have sought in the case of every objection to confront it with documentary evidence designed to show that the assumptions underlying the objection

are contrary to fact. When no direct evidence is procurable either in favor of or against an objection, I have endeavored to show by analogy, or the production of similar instances, that the events or statements recorded in Daniel are possible; and that the objections to these events, or statements, cannot be proved by mere assertion unsupported by testimony.

In the first chapter, *the inadequacy of the argument* from silence to prove that the books of the Old Testament contain misrepresentations, is shown by giving a résumé of the historical documents of the Hebrews, Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and others, in their relations to one another. A careful reading of this summary of the known evidence ought to convince all unbiased judges that an argument from the silence of one document as to events which are recorded in another, is usually devoid of validity. In many cases, it will be seen that for long periods of time there are no extra-biblical documents whatever; in other cases, there is, for long periods of time, no evidence either biblical or extra-biblical. Again, often when documents of the same time are found, they treat of subjects entirely alien to the subjects treated of in the other, and hence have no bearing on the case. Or, even when they treat of the same subjects, the narrators look at them from a different point of view and one will be intentionally silent where the other enlarges upon the topic.

Chapter two discusses the objections made by Dean Farrar to the very existence of Daniel on the ground that his *name* even is *not mentioned* on the monuments of his time. Here I show, first, that it is not to be expected that the Jewish name of Daniel would ever have been used in Babylonian documents, inasmuch as Nebuchadnezzar changed it to Belteshazzar on his

arrival in Babylon; secondly, that the name Belshazzar, under which form the name Belteshazzar might be written in Babylonian, does occur on the Babylonian tablets as the name of several individuals and that one of these may have been the Daniel of our book; thirdly, that it is difficult to make any possible identification of Daniel, owing to the fact that his ancestors are not mentioned in the Bible; fourthly, that even if his ancestors were known, he could not be identified from the monuments, because on them the father or grandfather is never mentioned in the case of slaves, or even of foreigners, except in the case of kings and their children; and lastly, that it is unreasonable to expect to find the name of Daniel upon the monuments, first, because the names of slaves are rarely mentioned; secondly, because the names of slaves are never found as witnesses, and those of foreigners but rarely; thirdly, because the annals and display and building inscriptions of the kings never mention the names of anybody except occasionally the names of the kings they conquer, of an occasional general, and of the members of their own families. In fact, no better illustration than this of Dean Farrar can be found of the fact that a man, however brilliant as a preacher and as a writer and however accomplished as a classical scholar, is but a blind leader of the blind when he attempts to speak upon such complicated matters as those which are involved in an introduction to the book of Daniel, without having first mastered the languages and the literature of Babylon and Persia.

Chapter three treats of the *silence of the other biblical documents and of the monuments* as to an expedition of Nebuchadnezzar, said by Daniel to have been made against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim. It

will be noted that in this particular case of the alleged silence of other sources, there is a tacit overlooking of the testimony to this expedition afforded by the fragments of Berosus, who states that Nebuchadnezzar was in Palestine at the time when his father Nabopolassar died, which according to the Babylonian system of reckoning the years of a king would have been the third year of Jehoiakim. It will be noted, further, that the critics in their allegations of error against the author of Daniel have failed to consider the whole matter of the different ways of reckoning the regnal years of a king, and the different times at which, among different nations, the year was supposed to begin. This frequently renders it very difficult to determine the corresponding months and years of a king's reign in the different countries, and should make us slow in asserting that the third year of a king in one document might not be the same as the fourth year in another. Again, I show in this chapter that Jeremiah and the books of Kings and Chronicles do not purport to give us a complete history of the times of Nebuchadnezzar, and that, hence, it is not fair to say that an event which is mentioned in Daniel cannot be true because it is not mentioned in these other writings; and, further, that the monuments of Nebuchadnezzar say nothing definite about his military expeditions, except about one to Egypt in his thirty-seventh year, although they do show conclusively that he was king of Syria and many other countries, whose kings are said to do his bidding. Lastly, it is shown that in the fragments of his history of Babylon, Berosus supports the statement of Daniel, that Nebuchadnezzar made an expedition to Palestine before he was crowned king of Babylon, and carried away spoils from Judea which were placed in his

temple at Babylon, and that there is no statement made in Daniel about this expedition which is in any way controverted by any other direct testimony.

Chapter four answers a further question connected with the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim, arising from the charge that the author of Daniel made *false interpretations* of the sources known to him. An examination of the alleged sources of Daniel's information showed that he does not contradict these sources nor make erroneous interpretation of them; but that, on the contrary, it is the critics who, on the ground of their own implications and conjectures and sometimes of their crass ignorance of geography and of the historical situation, have really manufactured or imagined a case against Daniel. No more astonishing example of the fabrication of evidence can be found in the history of criticism than the use which is made of the statements of the Old Testament with regard to Carchemish, in order to show that Nebuchadnezzar cannot have moved against Jerusalem as long as this fortress was in the hands of the Egyptians. The critics of Daniel have assumed not merely that the Egyptians had Carchemish in their possession, but also that it lay on the way from Jerusalem to Babylon, so as to cut off, if in an enemy's hands, a possible retreat of Nebuchadnezzar from Palestine to Babylon. A knowledge of the position of Carchemish and of the lines of traffic from Damascus to the Euphrates should have precluded them from statements so unscientific from a geographical and military point of view.

Chapter five investigates the *use of the word for king*, especially in the Semitic languages. This discussion shows that Nebuchadnezzar may have been called king

before his father's death; and will serve also as an introduction to the discussion of the kingship of Belshazzar and that of Darius the Mede, in that it illustrates that there might be two kings of the same place at the same time.

Chapter six considers the objections made to the book of Daniel on the ground of what it says in regard to *Belshazzar.* Here, it is shown that Belshazzar, the son of Nabunaid, may, according to the usage of those times, have been also the son of Nebuchadnezzar; that there is good reason to suppose that he was king of the Chaldeans before he became king of Babylon; that he may have been king of Babylon long enough to justify the writer of Daniel in speaking of his first year as king of that city; that the fact that he is not called king elsewhere by his contemporaries is simply an argument from silence, paralleled by other instances; and that neither the biblical sources outside of Daniel, nor the monuments, say that any man other than Belshazzar was last *de facto* king of the city of Babylon. In short, it is shown that the evidence fails to substantiate the assertion that the statements of Daniel in regard to Belshazzar are false.

Chapters seven to thirteen treat of all the questions that have been raised concerning *Darius the Mede* and the Median Empire, showing that if we identify Darius with the Gubaru of the inscriptions, there is no objective reason for denying the truth of the biblical statements with regard to him. It is shown, that Darius may have been the name of a Mede; that he may have been the son of a man called Xerxes (*i. e.,* Ahasuerus) of the seed of the Medes; that he may have reigned at the same time as Cyrus and as sub-king under him; that he could have appointed one hundred and

twenty satraps over his kingdom, even though it was restricted to Chaldea and Babylonia alone; that he may have had a den of lions, containing lions sufficient to have devoured the conspirators against Daniel and their families; that he could not have been a reflection of Darius Hystaspis, or of any one, or all, of the Persian kings of the name Darius; in short, that, granting that Darius the Mede had two names (for which supposition there is abundant evidence from the analogy of other kings), there is no ground for impugning the veracity of the account of Darius the Mede as given in the book of Daniel.

To particularize, it is shown, in chapter seven, that it is pure *conjecture* to suppose that the author of Daniel thought *that Darius* the Mede *preceded Cyrus* the Persian as king of Babylon, or that Cyrus succeeded to the empire of Babylon on the death of the Median Darius; further, it is shown, that Darius the Mede may have had a *second name*, Gubaru (Gobryas), and that he probably received the government of Chaldea and Babylon from Cyrus.

Chapter eight treats of the statements of Daniel with regard to the part taken by the Medes and Persians respectively in the *conquest of Babylon*, and shows that they are in harmony with the monumental evidence.

Chapter nine discusses the allegation that the author of Daniel was *deficient in knowledge* and confused in thought in the statements which he makes with regard to the Persian empire, especially with regard to the names and number of its kings, the absolute rulership of Darius the Mede, and the division and number of its satrapies.

Chapter ten answers the assumption that Darius the Mede has been *confused with Darius Hystaspis*, because

each of them is said to have organized his kingdom into satrapies. It is shown that the satrapies varied so in extent, that there may easily have been one hundred and twenty of them in the dominions over which Darius the Mede was made king; and that Darius Hystaspis did not originate the government by satraps, since the Assyrian monarchs, especially Sargon the Second, had organized their possessions in the same manner.

Chapters eleven and twelve treat of the assumption that Darius the Mede is a *reflection of Darius Hystaspis*. By a careful comparison of what Daniel says about Darius the Mede with what is known from all sources about Darius Hystaspis, the evidence is given to show that, whatever else Darius the Mede may have been, he cannot have been a reflection of Darius Hystaspis. In chapter eleven are discussed the names and families of the two kings, showing that in these particulars Darius the Mede cannot have been the reflection of Darius the Persian.

Chapter twelve shows how *the two kings differ* in the age and manner of their becoming king, in the names and extent of the kingdoms over which they ruled, in their relation to other kings, in their methods of government, and in their personal characteristics.

Chapter thirteen treats of the *alleged confusion* by the author of Daniel of Xerxes and Darius Hystaspis, and of his further alleged confusion of this alleged confused Xerxes-Darius with Darius Codomannus. It treats, further, of the alleged belief of the author, that there was a triumphant repulse by Alexander the Great of an attack on Greece by this confused Xerxes-Darius-Hystaspis-Codomannus.

Chapter fourteen gives the latest evidence to show

that *Susa* in the time of Daniel's vision was in all probability a province of the Babylonian empire.

Chapter fifteen gives the latest evidence from the monuments and from medical science tending to confirm the historicity of all the statements made in Daniel about the fact, the character, and the duration, of the *madness of Nebuchadnezzar*.

Chapter sixteen discusses the theory that the edicts of the king are impossible. I here show that those *edicts cannot be* called either morally, legally, physically, or historically *impossible*. That they are not *morally* impossible is shown from analogy by the edicts of the Roman emperors, and by the tenet of the Roman hierarchy that the church may justly inflict on heretics the penalty of death; and, also, by a study of the character of Nebuchadnezzar as revealed in his monuments, and of Darius the Mede as revealed in Daniel, in comparison with such tyrants as Henry VIII of England, Philip II of Spain, and Louis XIV of France. That they are not *legally* impossible is shown by a review of what is known of the laws of ancient Babylon and Persia. That the execution of these decrees was not *physically* impossible is shown by numerous examples of similar cases given in the histories of Assyria and Babylonia. Many examples prove the commonness of burning in the fire as a method of punishment. The possibility of the destruction of the one hundred and twenty satraps and their families by lions is shown from the fact that the monuments of the kings of Assyria say that they had menageries containing "all the animals of the mountains and of the plains," including elephants, panthers, and lions. Further, it is shown that lions at that time were the pest of the Euphrates Valley, hundreds of them being killed in a

single hunting expedition, and that in one case mentioned by Ashurnaṣirapal, king of Assyria, fifty young lions were captured alive and shut up by him in the city of Calach. Finally, the assertion that there is an *historical* impossibility involved in the decrees recorded in Daniel is shown to be the baseless fabric of the critics' imagination, inasmuch as of the many decrees which the monarchs of Babylon and Persia must have made, only one or two have come down to us. The opinion of certain men to-day that these decrees could not have been made, must yield to the positive evidence. To deny the historical possibility of the decrees is a pure case of *opinion versus evidence.*

Chapters seventeen and eighteen discuss the possibility of the use of *the word "Chaldean"* in the sixth century B.C. to denote the wise men, or a part of the wise men of Babylon, and the relation in which Daniel stood to the wise men. The evidence gathered together in these chapters shows that there is no sufficient reason for denying that the word "Chaldean" to denote a class of Babylonian wise men may have been employed as early as 600 B.C.; nor for denying that a strict Jew may have been a member of the class of Babylonian wise men to which Daniel is said to have belonged. The use of the words for *wise* in all the Semitic languages proves, that the term is always used in an honorable sense, and that it is a groundless supposition of the critics that any blame was ever attached by the writers of the Old Testament, or by the Jewish scribes, to any class of real wise men to whatever nation they may have belonged.

Hoping that this volume may confirm the faith of any wavering ones in the historicity of a book which was so highly prized and so often quoted by our Lord and his apostles, and that it may show particularly to men who

have a due regard for the laws of evidence, how flimsy are the grounds on which some would reject the testimony and impugn the veracity of the writer of Daniel, I send it forth upon its mission in the world. If it shall have served no other purpose, it has at least accomplished this:—it has convinced the writer that the methods pursued by many so-called higher critics are illogical, irrational, and *unscientific*. They are illogical because they beg the question at issue. They are irrational because they assume that historic facts are self-evident, and that they can set limits to the possible. They are unscientific because they base their conclusions on incomplete inductions and on a practical claim of omniscience.

Before closing my introduction, a few words ought to be said about the sources from which I have derived my evidence. Generally, it will be observed that I have appealed to the standard editions of texts in the original languages in which they are written. When there exist good translations as in the case of some of the classical historians, I have made free use of these translations, always, however, after comparison with the original texts. In the case of others, I have secured as good versions as possible, my son, Philip Howard Wilson, A.B. (died June 27, 1913), honor man in classics of the class of 1911 at Princeton University, being responsible for many of the translations from the classical writers whose works have not yet been rendered into English.

In the case of Assyrian and Babylonian documents, I have made use, where possible, of the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (denoted by *K. B.*), translating from the German version, revised in the light of the transliterated Assyrio-Babylonian text. In doubtful and important connections I have consulted the original texts, so far

as they are published. This method has been pursued, also, with all other original documents; that is, I have used the best version available, but always in comparison with the original texts.

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CHAPTER I

THE ARGUMENT FROM SILENCE

I SHALL begin the consideration of the historicity of Daniel and of the book of Daniel with a discussion of the argument from silence, not merely because of its intrinsic importance, but because of its bearing upon many of the objections made against the existence of Daniel himself and against the authenticity and genuineness of the book which bears his name. Before considering these objections, it may be well to state explicitly what is meant in this connection by an argument from silence. When the argument from silence is invoked against a statement of a record of any kind, it is implied that the statement is probably not true because there is no evidence to be gathered from other sources of information in support or confirmation of it. It is a purely negative argument. For example, our Lord is said to have accompanied his parents to a feast at Jerusalem in his twelfth year and to have been present at several feasts in the same place during the years of his ministry. Nothing is said in the

gospel records about his attendance at the feasts during the period intervening between his twelfth year and the beginning of his Judean ministry. It would be an argument from silence to maintain that Jesus was never at a feast at Jerusalem during this long period of his life, inasmuch as no mention of his having been there is to be found either in the gospels, or in any other credible document. But the argument is clearly inconclusive and unsatisfactory, because it may be used as well to show the probability that he was there at many, or all, of the feasts of the intervening years,—that it was his habit to attend the feasts. Certainly, the fact that his presence at a feast in his twelfth year is mentioned in but one of the gospels does not render that statement improbable. Nor does the fact that his attendance at certain other feasts during the years of his ministry is stated in but one of the four gospels render such an attendance improbable. The commands laid upon the Israelites to go up three times a year to the feasts, the rigid observance of these commands by other Israelites of that period, and the well-known obedience of our Lord to the injunctions of the law, would make it probable that he observed the feasts. The fact that he is said to have been present at several of them would imply that he probably was present at more. But the mere failure of more than one of the sources, or even of all of them put together, to mention his attendance at a given feast during the whole period from his twelfth year onward, cannot be regarded as proof of his absence from it.

The failure, therefore, of any given authority to mention an event recorded in another, or the fact that a given event is recorded in only one authority, while others pass it by in silence, does not prove that the

event did not occur. Most events of antiquity of which we have any knowledge are mentioned in but one contemporary source of information. For most of the history of Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius, and Xerxes, we are absolutely dependent for our information upon Herodotus, often at best a second-hand and unreliable source. For Artaxerxes I, Darius II, and the first part of the reign of Artaxerxes II, we have the fragments of Ctesias, the partial accounts of Xenophon, and allusions and short references in Thucydides and a few other writers. For the history of Assyria and Babylonia, and for that of Syria, Phenicia, and Egypt before 500 B.C., we have no historian, strictly so-called, either native or foreign, who was contemporaneous with the events which transpired. For the history of the Hittites and for that of Elam, Lydia, Media, and Persia, we have no native historians, of any age, whether contemporaneous or not. For the history of all of these countries from 500 B.C. to 300 B.C., we are limited as to contemporaneous historians to the Greeks, especially to Herodotus, Ctesias, Thucydides, and Xenophon. About 300 B.C., a native Egyptian, Manetho by name, wrote in Greek what purported to be a history of Egypt from the earliest times, which, he asserted, he had derived from the records of the Egyptians. About the same time, also in Greek, Berosus wrote a history of the Babylonians; Menander, a history of Tyre; and Nicolaus, a history of Damascus. Unfortunately, fragments only of these historians have been preserved to us, mostly excerpts found in Josephus and Eusebius.

But while, strictly speaking, we have no histories from any of the nations who came into contact with the ancient Israelites, we have from some of them a large number of documents affording us for certain periods

the sources, or materials, from which to construct a more or less continuous history, and to obtain for certain epochs and individuals a more or less satisfactory knowledge of their civilization and especially of their political conditions and relations. The relative and even the absolute chronology of the times in which the Israelites flourished is becoming clearer and more definite. The geographical terminology and limitations are becoming known. The laws, manners, customs, science, art, and religion are becoming revealed. Some kings of Assyria, such as the Tiglath-Pilesers, the Shalmanesers, Ashurnaṣirpal, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal have left us annals which supply the place of histories and cause these kings to stand out before us as real characters. Hammurabi, Merodach-Baladan, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nabunaid, kings of Babylon, have left us inscriptions from which we can in a measure construct their biographies. The inscriptions of Nabunaid, Cyrus, and Darius Hystaspis enable us, also, to supplement what the Greek historians and the biblical writers have to say about the early days of Persia; while the Egyptian and Phenician records, though not as satisfactory, give us at least a chronological background and check for much of the history. The records of the Hittites, Lydians, and Elamites, also, are being resurrected in part from the graves of oblivion, and even the Arabian deserts are yielding up their long-buried secrets.

But when all these discoveries are taken into consideration, they present at best but a very imperfect view of the general or particular history of the nations of antiquity, that preceded the empires of Greece and Rome. It is impossible as yet to write a continuous history of any one of them. The records are so in-

complete and sporadic that they fail frequently to give us information where we most desire to have it. Moreover, when we compare the records of one country with those of another, we find that most frequently those of a given country fail to mention matters which are found recorded at length in the documents of another. Most of them abstain from mentioning occurrences derogatory to the dignity of their kings or to the honor of their country. It is often only from silence or inference that we can supply the gaps, which indicate defeat in the midst of victory, or periods of decay lying between periods of comparative prosperity. The silence of one record, therefore, is no disproof of the accuracy or truthfulness of another. It does not even show that the writer of the record was not cognizant of the event. It is simply and absolutely no evidence at all.

In order to show the futility of the argument from silence when adduced against the trustworthiness of an event, or the existence of a person, mentioned in the Old Testament records, and as a special introduction to the discussion of the following chapters which are chiefly concerned with proving the veracity of the statements of the book of Daniel with regard to historical matters, I shall now proceed to give a series of parallels illustrating the fact of the silence of certain documents with reference to the statements made in others.

I. In the *Scriptures themselves* many examples can be cited of the silence of one book with regard to an event which is mentioned in another. For example, in Isaiah xx, 1, Sargon is called king of Assyria, although he is not mentioned elsewhere even by name. In view of the fact that Sargon was one of the greatest of the kings of Assyria; that according to the monuments it was he,

or his general, who actually captured the city of Samaria, which Shalmaneser, his immediate predecessor, had besieged; and that he reigned from 722 B.C., the year of Samaria's fall, till 705 B.C., *i. e.*, through a large part of Hezekiah's reign, this silence of the Scriptures with regard to him is a noteworthy fact, especially since, according to his own inscriptions, Sargon fought with Gaza, Ashdod, Samaria, Damascus, Egypt, and other powers in the immediate neighborhood of Jerusalem.

Again, it is said in Ezra iv, 10, that the great and noble Asnapper brought various peoples over and settled them in Samaria. Whoever this Asnapper may have been, he is not mentioned elsewhere in the Scriptures, unless he be the same as "Esarhaddon, king of Assyria" who, according to Ezra iv, 2, had brought the inhabitants of Samaria thither. But if Asnapper be Esarhaddon, this transaction of his, so great in its bearing on the history of the Jews, is not mentioned elsewhere in the Scriptures. Esarhaddon, it is true, is named in 2 Kings xix, 37 and in the parallel passage, Is. xxxvii, 38, as the son and successor of Sennacherib, and is referred to in 2 Chron. xxxiii, 11–13 as the "king of Assyria" who captured and carried captive to Babylon and afterwards released Manasseh, king of Judah; but nothing is said in any of these books, or elsewhere, of a settlement of nations made by him, or by anyone under him, in Samaria, or in any other place. If the importation described in 2 Kings xvii, 24–41 refers to this event, it is remarkable that out of the five names of the peoples imported, as given in Kings, only one, that of Babylon, should be given in the list of names found in Ezra iv, 9, 10. If, however, as is more probable, Asnapper be Ashurbanipal, the successor of Esar-

haddon, this transaction of his is mentioned nowhere else, either in the Scriptures or in the monuments.

II. Parallels are numerous, also, where the *Scriptures* are silent as to events or persons that are mentioned on the *Monuments*. For example, Shalmaneser III of Assyria (860–825 B.C.) mentions a campaign against the king of Damascus and his allies, among whom was Ahab of Israel, who contributed 2000 chariots and 10,000 warriors to the army of Hadadezer, king of Damascus.[1] The Scriptures do not mention this event in the career of Ahab, nor Shalmaneser's five later campaigns against Damascus and her allies in 849, 848, 845, 842 (?), and 839 B.C.[2]

Shalmaneser claims also that in his eighteenth year, 842 B.C., he received the tribute of Jehu, son of Omri.[3] No mention of this is found in the Scriptures. Again, Sargon says that he subdued the land of Judah[4] although there is no mention in the Scriptures of this conquest and only one mention of his name, to wit, in Isaiah xx, 1.

III. Further, the *Scriptures* in general are silent as to the *history* of the great world monarchies, and also of the smaller kingdoms, in the midst of which the Israelites were placed.

For example, of the history of Egypt from Solomon's time down to the time of Alexander, only a very few persons and events are named in the Scriptures.[5]

[1] *Monolith Inscription*, KB i, 172.

[2] Winckler's *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 220, 221.

[3] III R 5, No. 6; KB i, 140, 150.

[4] KB ii, 36.

[5] (1) *Solomon* married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt,[1] for whom he built a special house outside of the city of David,[2] and for whom he received as dower the city of Gezer.[3] Solomon had commer-

[1] 1 Kings iii, 1.

[2] 1 Kings vii, 8; 2 Chron. viii, 11.

[3] 1 Kings ix, 16.

IV. The instances, also, are numerous where the Scriptures mention *events* and *persons* that are not mentioned on the monuments.[1]

Among *persons* we need only name Abraham, Lot, Isaac, Ishmael, Jacob, Esau, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, all the judges, and their antagonists; all the prophets; Saul, David, Solomon, and, in fact, all the kings of both Israel and Judah, except Azariah, Ahaz, Hezekiah, and

cial dealings with Egypt, especially in horses.[1] The king of Egypt received Hadad, the Edomite of the king's seed in Edom, gave him houses and lands, and for a wife the sister of Tahpanes, his queen; and a son of Hadad, Genubath by name, the issue of this marriage, was among the king of Egypt's sons in the house of Pharaoh.[2] Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, having fled from the wrath of Solomon, was received by Shishak, the then king of Egypt, and remained in Egypt until the death of Solomon.[3]

(2) In the reign of *Rehoboam*, we are told that Jeroboam returned out of Egypt to Shechem at the summons of the people[4]; and that Shishak, in Rehoboam's fifth year, came up against Jerusalem and took away all the king's treasures,[5] and captured all his fenced cities,[6] and made his people servants of the king of Egypt.[7]

(3) In the reign of *Asa*, Zerah the Cushite, came against Judah and was defeated at Mareshah.[8]

(4) *Hoshea*, king of Israel, conspired against Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and sent messengers to So, king of Egypt.[9]

(5) The Rabshakeh of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, accused *Hezekiah* of trusting for help to the king of Egypt. Sennacherib heard that Tirhakeh, king of Ethiopia, had come out against him.[10]

(6) Thebes (*No*) was captured and her inhabitants carried away into captivity.[11]

(7) In *Josiah's* days, Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, came up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates; and king Josiah went against him and met him at Megiddo.[12]

[1] Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures* for 1859.

[1] 1 Kings x, 28, 29; 2 Chron. i, 16, 17; ix, 28.
[2] 1 Kings xi, 14–22.
[3] 1 Kings xi, 26, 40.
[4] 1 Kings xii, 2–20
[5] 1 Kings xiv, 25, 26; 2 Chron. xii, 9.
[6] 2 Chron. xii, 4.
[7] 2 Chron. xii, 8.
[8] 2 Chron. xiv, 9–15.
[9] 2 Kings xvii, 1–4.
[10] 2 Kings xviii, 19–21; xix, 9, 10.
[11] Nahum iii, 8–10.
[12] 2 Kings xxiii, 27–34.

Manasseh, of the kingdom of Judah, and Omri, Ahab, Jehu, Menahem, Pekah, and Hoshea, of the kingdom of Israel. Nor do we find on the monuments the names of Zerubbabel, Daniel, Esther, Mordecai, Ezra, or Nehemiah, nor of any of the high priests from Aaron down to Jaddua, except of Johanan, the predecessor of the last named.[1] Nor do we find in any hitherto discovered monuments the names of Jabin, king of Hazor, of Barak and Eglon, kings of Moab, of Cushan-Rishathaim, king of Aram-Naharaim, nor of Nahash, Hanun, and Baalis, kings of the Ammonites.

Among *events* not mentioned except in the Scriptures, are the sojourn in Egypt, the plagues, the exodus, the wanderings, the conquest, the wars of the Judges and of David and Solomon, the expedition of Zerah, king of Ethiopia (Cush), the wars of Israel and Judah with each other and with the immediately surrounding tribes and cities (except what is recorded on the Moabite stone), the whole story of the relations between

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(8) Nebuchadnezzar defeated Necho's army at Carchemish in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim.*[1]

(9) Pharaoh-*Hophra* was to be delivered into the hands of his enemies.[2]

(10) Pharaoh-*Hophra's* army caused the raising for a short time of Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem[3]; but the Egyptians were soon compelled to return to Egypt.[4]

(11) After the fall of Jerusalem, *Johanan*, the son of Kareah and all the captains of the forces of the Jews and all the people, men and women and children, and the king's daughters, and Jeremiah the prophet, and his scribe Baruch, went down to Egypt to the city of Tahpanhes.[5]

(12) *Jeremiah* prophesied at Tahpanhes, that Nebuchadnezzar would set his throne upon the stones that he had hidden at that place[6]; and that the men of Judah who had come down to Egypt should be consumed there.[7]

[1] Sachau *Aramäische Papyrus*, p. 5.

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[1] Jer. xlvi, 2. [2] Jer. xliv, 30. [3] Jer. xxxvii, 5. [4] *Id.*, v. 7. [5] Jer. xliii, 5–7. [6] *Id.*, v. 10. [7] Jer. xliv, 27.

Judah and Babylon from Merodach-Baladan down to Cyrus, and, also, of those between the Jews and the Persians in general, and in particular, except the information supplied by the lately discovered Egyptian papyri.

V. There are numerous decades and even centuries of *Israelitish history* as to which there is a universal silence in the *Scriptures*. For example, nothing is stated as to the history of the people during their long sojourn in Egypt, except a long account of why they went there and another of why and how they came out. Thirty-eight years of their sojourn in the wilderness are relieved by scarcely a notice of events. The same is true of numerous decades in the time of the judges, and of long periods of time in the history of nearly all the great kings of Israel and Judah. The forty-seven chapters of the books of Kings contain all that is said of the history of Israel from the accession of Solomon to the destruction of Jerusalem! Seven verses only are devoted to the events of the reign of Jeroboam II, who was the greatest king of the Northern Kingdom and ruled forty years; and a like number to those of Azariah, king of Judah, who reigned for fifty-two years! Eighteen verses only are given to the fifty-five years of Manasseh, most of them taken up with a description of his idolatry and of the punishment certain to follow.[1]

VI. There are numerous decades and centuries of *Israelitish history*, as to which there is absolute silence on the *Monuments*.

For example, on the Egyptian monuments, there is but one reference to Israel down to the time of Shishak, that is, in the song of triumph of Merenptah, in which

[1] 2 Kings xxi, 1–18.

he says: "The people of Israel is laid waste, their crops are not."[1] These two monarchs, are separated, according to Petrie, by a period of 250 years. After Shishak, there is no reference on the Egyptian monuments to any relations between Egypt and either Israel or Judah.

The first mention of the Israelites on the Assyrian monuments is that by Shalmaneser III in the narrative of his campaign made in 854 B.C.[2] Twelve years later, he received the tribute of Jehu the son of Omri. Then, there is silence for about forty years, till Adad-Nirari mentions "the land of Omri."[3] The next notice is more than sixty years later in the records of Tiglath-Pileser IV, who mentions Jauhazi of the land of Judah as among his tributaries,[4] and says that he ruled over all lands from the rising of the sun to the land of Egypt.[5] He received, also, the tribute of Menahem of the city of Samaria,[6] and speaks, on a fragment, of the land of Beth-Omri, all of whose inhabitants, together with their possessions, he carried away to Assyria, having killed Pekah their king and set up Hoshea in his place.[7] Shalmaneser IV, the king who besieged Samaria, reigned for five years (727–722 B.C.), but has left to us but one inscription.[8] Sargon,[9] tells of his subjugating Judah[10]; and that he besieged and took Samaria, adding,[11] that he carried 27,290 men away into captivity with 50 chariots,

[1] Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii, 114.

[2] Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 329–332.

[3] *Stone Inscription of Calah*, 12.

[4] *Nimrud*, 61.

[5] *Id.*, 3, 4.

[6] *Annals*, 50.

[7] KB ii, 31, 32.

[8] This is on a lion's weight, and gives nothing but the words, "Palace of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria; two minas of the king" (KB ii, 32).

[9] *Nimrud Inscription.*

[10] *Annals.*

[11] *Display Inscription*, 24.

leaving the remainder in possession of their goods, but appointing over them his own officials and imposing on them the tribute which they had formerly paid. He adds, that he plundered the whole land of Bit-Omri[1]; that he conquered Samaria and the whole land of Bit-Omri,[2] and finally,[3] that he carried away captive and settled in the city of Samaria the people of Tamud, Ibadidi, Marsimani, Haiapa, and the distant Arbai, who inhabited the wilderness, who knew neither scholar nor scribe, and who had never before brought tribute to any king.

The references to Judah and its affairs by Sennacherib are numerous[4]; but from his death in 680 B.C. to the fall of Nineveh about 606 B.C., the only mention of Judah is found in the parallel lists of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, where Manasseh is called by the former, "King of the city of Judah," and by the latter, "King of the land of Judah."[5] Esarhaddon informs us, indeed, that he was king of the kings of Egypt, of Patros, and of Ethiopia,[6] and of all the kings of the land of the Hittites, including Manasseh king of Judah.[7] Ashurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, says, also, that his father entered Egypt and overthrew Tirhakeh, king of Ethiopia, and destroyed his army, conquering both Egypt and Ethiopia and taking countless prisoners, changing the names of their cities, and giving them new names, entrusting his servants with the government and imposing tribute upon them.[8] He names, moreover, their kings and the cities they ruled over,[9] and tells of his conquest of Tyre.[10] He mentions, further, Psammetichus, king of Egypt, his revolt and

[1] Hall XIV. [2] Pavement Inscription, IV.
[3] Annals, 94–97. [4] KAT, 285–332.
[5] KAT, 354–357, and KB ii, 49, 131, and 239.
[6] KAT, 336, and KB ii, 151. [7] KB ii, 149.
[8] KAT, 338, and KB ii, 159–169. [9] *Id.*, 161–163. [10] *Id.*, 169–171.

his overthrow;[1] and his wars with the grandsons of Merodach-Baladan, king of the Chaldeans;[2] and with the kings of the Arabians, Edom, Ammon, Moab, and Nabatea.[3] Yet, except the mention of Manasseh as being among the twenty-two vassals of the land of the Hittites, no notice of Judah is found on the Assyrian monuments after about 685 B. C.; that is, after the reigns of Hezekiah and Sennacherib.

On the Babylonian documents, neither Israel, nor Judah, nor anyone nor anything connected with either, is ever mentioned; though we know from one fragment of an historical inscription of Nebuchadnezzar that he invaded Egypt.[4] Nabunaid, also, speaks of the kings of Phenicia[5] and of the tribute of the kings of the land of Amurru;[6] and says that he mustered the scattered peoples (*ummania rapshati*) from Gaza on the frontier of Egypt by the Upper Sea to beyond the Euphrates as far as the Lower Sea.

VII. There are numerous decades, or longer periods, during the history of Israel, which are practically *a blank* as far as the outside world is concerned, the most that is known concerning foreign nations being the occasional mention of the name of a king. The contemporaneous, or synchronous, history of these kings is consequently frequently impossible to establish; and even their order and the length of their reigns, we are often unable to determine.

For example, in the history of Egypt from about 1200 B. C. during the reign of the ten kings from Rameses III to Rameses XII inclusive, the succession "has long been doubtful and is not yet certain"; and

[1] *Id.*, 177. [2] *Id.*, 211–213. [3] *Id.*, 215–229. [4] KB iii, ii, 140.
[5] Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle*, Col. ii, 3.
[6] *i. e.*, Phenicia-Palestine. Cyrus *Cylinder*, 29, 30.

even after the time of the Ramessids but little is known of the history of Egypt down to the time of the Persian conquest.[1]

Similarly, to cite a few instances from the history of Babylon and Assyria, for the interval—more than half a millennium—between the end of the First or Hammurabi Dynasty and the time of Nebuchadnezzar I; for the period—about two hundred years—between Tiglath-Pileser I and Ashurnaṣirpal II and for the much shorter interval—about twenty years—between the death of Ashurbanipal and the fall of Nineveh the historical information is very meager. Even regarding the Neo-babylonian period we know comparatively little. There are only a few historical inscriptions and the numerous building inscriptions and contract tablets do not supply their deficiencies to any marked degree.

[1] Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii, 137. Of these kings, Mr. Petrie says as follows: "Of Rameses V, the stele of Silsileh is the only serious monument of the reign and that contains nothing but beautiful phrases" (*id.*, 171); of Rameses VI, "There is not a single dated monument of this reign, and no building, but only steles, statues, and small objects, to preserve the name" (*id.*, 173); of Rameses VII, "No dates exist, the works and objects are all unimportant" (*id.*, 177); of Rameses VIII, "The stele of Hora, an official of Busiris, is the only monument of this reign to reward the search" (*id.*, 177); of Ramees IX, "This king is only known by a vase and a scarab" (*id.*, 177); of Rameses X, "with the exception of an inquiry into the thefts from the tomb of Amenhotep I, we know nothing of the history of this reign" (*id.*, 183); of Rameses XI, there is nothing but a "list of documents about the necropolis robberies" (*id.*, 185); of Rameses XII, "there is no more to be said about this reign than about the other obscure reigns before it" (*id.*, 187).

Again, of the reign of Men-kheper, from 1074 to 1025 B. C., he says, "There are but poor remains of this long reign" (*id.*, 211); of the next ruler, "There is nothing to show that this prince reigned" (*id.*, 214). The documents of Pasebkhanu, 1006–952 B. C., give merely his cartouche and call him a son of Pinezem (*id.*, 219). There is but one important document from the reign of Nesibadadu, 1102–1076 B. C. (*id.*, 220). Of Pasebkhanu I, 1076–1035 B. C., we know that he refounded a temple at Tanis and surrounded it with a mighty wall and that he built a

As to the documents from Tyre, Sidon, Moab, and other sources, they are so few, short, and fragmentary, that it would be utterly impossible to relate them in any way with the general history of the ancient world, or to one another, were it not for the annals of the Israelites, and of the Assyrio-Babylonians. The almost entire absence of documents from Persian sources must also be noticed here. Strictly speaking. with the exception of the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle* and the Cyrus *Cylinder*, which are both written in Babylonian alone, the polylingual *Behistun Inscriptions* of Darius Hystaspis are the only historical documents from the Persians; and from the Medes not one document has survived. Some historical information, it is true, may be gathered from miscellaneous inscriptions of the Persian kings, Darius Hystaspis, Xerxes, and the

temple at Gizeh (*id.*, 221–233); of his successor, Neferkara, 1035–1031 B. C., we have nothing except the mention of his name in Manetho (*id.*, 223); of the next king, Amenemapt, 1031–1022 B. C., we know only that he continued to build the temple at Gizeh (*id.*, 223); of the next king, Siamen, 1022–996 B. C., we know nothing of importance, except that he built a temple at Tanis (*id.*, 224, 225); of the next, Hez-haq-ra, 987–952 B. C., scarcely anything is known (*id.*, 225). Of the kings of the twenty-second dynasty, "very little is known about the reign of Uasarkon I, 930–894 B. C. (*id.*, 240); Takerat I, 901–876 B. C., was formerly not even recognized as king (*id.*, 244); of Takerat II, 856–831 B. C., no historical facts are recorded (*id.*, 254); of Shishak IV, 782–742 B. C., "nothing whatever is known" (*id.*, 259).

In the twenty-third dynasty, there were two Pedu-basts who reigned between 755 and 736 B. C.; but "we can only infer which is the earlier of these" (*id.*, 262). Of the other kings of this dynasty, scarcely the names even are known (*id.*, 263–265).

Of the twenty-fourth dynasty, nothing is known of Kashta, 725–715 B. C., (*id.*, 280); of Shabataka, 707–693 B. C., "not a single fact of history is recorded" (*id.*, 287); of the remaining kings very little is known, except about Tirhakeh, 701–667 B. C. (*id.*, 290–311).

Of the twenty-fifth dynasty, from the first reign, that of Tafnekht II about 749–721 B. C., we have only two steles (*id.*, 314); of Tafnekht II (Uahab-ra), scarcely anything is known (*id.*, 317, 318).

three Artaxerxeses, and from their coins and the ruins of their buildings; but in general it may be said that from the time of the Behistun inscription (*cir.* 515 B.C.) to the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander of Macedon we are dependent for our information as to the history of Persia upon external sources, such as the Hebrew and Greek historians, the Babylonian tablets, and the Aramaic papyri.

VIII. There are numerous cases in which events which are mentioned in the *documents* of one country are entirely *wanting* in those of another. For example, the Tel-el-Amarna letters give us much information about the relations existing between Egypt on the one hand and Assyria and Babylon on the other; but the scanty Assyrian and Babylonian documents of that time are devoid of any reference to Egypt. After the time of Amenophis IV, however, the Egyptians make no explicit reference whatever to either Assyria or Babylon. Ashurbanipal gives lengthy accounts of his campaigns, and of that of his father, against Egypt, giving us the names of the kings and governors of Egypt; but the Egyptian records are silent as to the Assyrian invasions and dominations, unless indeed there be an allusion to them in the inscriptions of Mentemhet, "a prince of the Theban principality," from the time of Taharka, where he speaks of the whole land as having been overturned as a divine chastisement.[1] Of the Babylonian invasion of Egypt, the Egyptians have left no record. In fact, outside the Scriptures, the only reference to it is in the fragment of Nebuchadnezzar found near the Suez Canal and written in Babylonian.

[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. iv, p. 461; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii, 305.

IX. There are numerous cases, also, where certain *events* of a man's life are mentioned in one of his documents and entirely *passed over* in others, which might have been expected to mention them.

For example, a recently published inscription of Sennacherib,[1] contains an account of two great expeditions of the Assyrians against Cilicia in the time of Sennacherib, of which the latter has said nothing in his numerous inscriptions previously published. So in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, his conquest of Egypt is mentioned only in the fragment found in Egypt; but even the name of Egypt is absent from his other records. Again, in the three accounts on the Babylonian monuments of the war between Cyrus and Astyages, the Cyrus *Cylinder* says simply, "the land of the Kuti, the totality of the host of the Manda he (Merodach) caused to bow at my [Cyrus'] feet"; the *Chronicle* says that the latter's troops revolted against him and that he was taken and delivered up to Cyrus; the *Abu-Habba* inscription says that "Cyrus the king of Anzan, his insignificant (small) vassal, scattered with his few troops the widespread armies of the Manda, and that Astyages their king was seized by Cyrus and brought as prisoner to his land." He adds, also, that it was in the third year, presumably of Nabunaid, that the event happened. In like manner, Nabunaid's dream about the destruction of the Umman-Manda is mentioned only in the Abu-Habba inscription, though others of his dreams (for he was a great dreamer) are mentioned elsewhere.

X. There are cases, also, where the silence of an author with regard to the *method* of his procedure in drawing up a document has *misled* us into a *false*

[1] CT xxvi. London, 1909.

interpretation of it. Perhaps the best exemplification of this is to be found in the brilliant study of Sargon by Dr. A. T. Olmstead,[1] in which the author shows that many misapprehensions and misinterpretations of the campaigns of Sargon have arisen from a failure to understand that some of Sargon's inscriptions are chronological, some geographical, some logical, and some a mixture of two or all of these.

XI. There are many nations and persons, whose *names merely* are known, but over whose history the pall of a universal silence has fallen, as far as *native records* are concerned. The most notable examples of this kind from antiquity are the Medes and the Carthaginians. With the exception of a few votive and many almost identical mortuary inscriptions, the sources of information which we have with regard to the city of Dido must be found in the works of her enemies. If only we could find the memoirs of Hannibal! With regard to the Medes, we have absolutely no original information, since Weissbach has very conclusively shown[2] that the third language of the inscriptions of the Persian kings is not the language of the Medes. In view of this, what an astounding statement is that which was made in Dean Farrar's *Daniel*, that Daniel could not have existed, inasmuch as his name does not appear on the Median monuments! Other examples of nations of antiquity about which we know nothing from native records are the Trojans, the Scythians, the Cimmerians, and the Gauls.

There are many other *nations* known to have

[1] In his introduction to the work entitled: *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria;* (New York, 1908).

[2] In his introduction to *Die achämeniden Inschriften zweiter Art.* and in *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, p. xxxi.

flourished about which we know nothing from any source, except their names. For example, in Herodotus' list of the nations subject to Darius Hystaspis,[1] the Milyens, the Hygennians, the Pantimathians, the Aparytæ, the Paricanians, and the Pausicæ are absolutely unknown except by name. Many other cases can readily be gathered from the great work of Herodotus. So, also, in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, numerous examples of nations conquered by them, are found as to which we know nothing except the names. In view of the general trustworthiness of their information where it can be tested by other testimony, as in the case of the Hittites and Elamites and Israelites and Babylonians and Egyptians, no one could reasonably doubt that what they say as to their conquest of these otherwise unknown nations is true.

XII. Again, there are many persons said to have been *men of eminence* in their day, who are *merely mentioned* by name and title, or position, about whom we know absolutely nothing further. In Herodotus there are scores of such men, as for example in the catalogue of the generals and admirals of Xerxes. In the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis, in the contract and historical documents of Assyria and Babylon, in the royal lists of Egypt, and in the synchronous and eponym tablets of Assyria and Babylon, there are the names of hundreds more of such men.

XIII. There are thousands, perhaps we might better say tens of thousands, of *eminent men*, whose names even are *never mentioned* on any document, but who we know must have *existed*. Take Egypt, for example. Every once in a while a new mummy, or monument, or papy-

[1] Bk. III, 89–97.

rus is discovered, which reveals to us the name and deeds of some hitherto unknown individual, who in his day loomed up large in the view of his contemporaries. Not to mention others, we might speak of Mentemhet from the reign of Taharka, Ibe from the reign of Psamtik I, Nesuhor from the reign of Apries, and Pefnefdineit from the reign of Amasis. All of these were distinguished as priest, steward, general, or physician; and the inscriptions of these which have come to light enable us to get a comparatively fair view of their life and character. But during the long period of the Egyptian dynasties, how many thousands of others equally eminent in every walk of life must have flourished, though their very names have passed into oblivion!

A frequently recurring phrase on the Assyrian monuments, after a record of a conquest of numerous countries and kings, is: "I set my officers over them as governors, or deputies." But the names of these high officials are not given. It may be truly said, that one would never expect to find the name of an Assyrian governor (*qipu*, *shaknu*, or *bel pihati*) on a royal inscription. Tiglath-Pileser I says that he conquered sixty kings of the Nairi-land; but only one is mentioned by name.[1]

Of all the sub-kings, governors, deputies, and generals who must have served under the dominion of the Chaldean kings of Babylon from 625 to 538 B. C., the Babylonian historical and building inscriptions mention none by name except Nabunaid II and Belshazzar, the sons of Nabunaid I. On the contract tablets from that period, we find the names of only fourteen *asharidus*, twenty *qipus*, and four *bel pihatis*. No *shaknus* are mentioned. In the inscriptions from Persian times

[1] Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's* I. (Col. iv, 43–v, 32.)

we find the names of no sub-kings, of only two satraps, of three *pihatis*, of three *bel pihatis*, of twelve *asharidus*, of twenty-one *qipus*, and of no *shaknus*. In Herodotus, whose history of Persia extends from 555 B. C. to 480 B. C., we find the names of three or more sub-kings and of about a dozen archons and hyparchons.[1] With the exception of a score or so of judges, scarcely any civil officers are mentioned among the thousands of names collected by Tallquist.[2] With the exception of those mentioned in the Behistun inscriptions, very few generals are named in the Persian or Babylonian documents; though the frequent mention of them in Herodotus and in other Greek historians would teach us that there must have been hundreds of them from 625 B. C. to 330 B. C.

XIV. Lastly, it must be remembered, that, when all has been said, we have discovered but a very limited proportion of the ancient documents which once existed. This is true as to both public and private documents. For example, of the kings of Persia, we have no public documents of Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius II, Xerxes II, Sogdianus, Arses, and Darius III, and only one each of Artaxerxes I and III, two, possibly, of Cyrus, and two of Artaxerxes II, six of Xerxes I, and about a dozen all told of Darius Hystaspis. Of private documents from the time of the Persian kings we have few after the time of Artaxerxes II, and the ones we have are nearly all from Babylonia. There are at most two in Babylonian from the time of Artaxerxes II, who reigned from 404 to 359 B. C.[3]

[1] The word satrap does not occur in Herodotus, although he twice uses the term "satrapy."

[2] *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch.*

[3] Tablet 86 of the Morgan collection, part I, is from the fifth month

The places also where the records of Babylon and Persia have been found are comparatively few in number compared with the numerous places where they must have existed; and in these places, but a very few of the whole number that once existed have come down to us. Thus, there were doubtless many banking firms, like the *Murashu* and the *Egibi* houses at Babylon and many storehouses for contracts; but most of the contracts known have come from a few localities. Aramaic papyri were probably composed in a score of other Jewish colonies, but unfortunately only the one great find of Elephantine has thus far been made. The letters to Amenophis III and IV found at Tel-el-Amarna were most likely not the only ones ever sent by the vassals of the Egyptian kings to their sovereign lords. The reports to Assyrian kings thus far discovered are doubtless but a small part of those which must have been sent to Nineveh during the 500 years from Tiglath-Pileser I to Ashurbanipal.

Conclusion

In concluding these general remarks upon the so-called argument from silence, and having in view our almost absolute lack of first-class evidence bearing upon the historicity of the statements made in the Old Testament in general and of Daniel in particular, we refuse to accept as true the indiscriminate charges and multitudinous specifications entirely unsupported

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of the 41st year of Artaxerxes. Since Artaxerxes I reigned less than 41 years and Artaxerxes II about 46 years, this tablet must be from the reign of the latter. Some of the astronomical tablets mention Artaxerxes II and one at least Artaxerxes III. See Kugler: *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, i, 70–82.

by evidence which are often made against the truthfulness of the Old Testament writings. A man is presumed to be innocent until he is proven guilty. A book, or document, is supposed to be true until it is proven false. And as to particular objections made against the historicity of a person or event mentioned in the book of Daniel on the ground that other authorities fail to notice them, would it not be well for us to possess our souls in patience, until such charges are supported by some direct evidence bearing upon the case? Why not give Daniel the benefit of the doubt, if doubt there be?

CHAPTER II

WAS DANIEL AN HISTORICAL CHARACTER?

THERE will be discussed in this chapter the definite claim of the late Dean Farrar that such a man as Daniel could not have existed because his name even has not been found as yet upon the documents dating from the sixth century B.C. It will be shown, that it is not certain that Daniel, under his new Babylonian name given him by Ashpenaz, the prince of the eunuchs of Nebuchadnezzar,[1] is not mentioned upon the records of Babylon; and, also, that even if it be not mentioned, this affords no presumption against the existence of Daniel, inasmuch as the kinds of records that have come down to us could not have been expected to mention his name. To be sure, by a lucky chance, or a special providence, his name might have been recorded in one of the documents thus far discovered; but these documents being such as they are, it would be most extraordinary if it had been recorded there. Moreover, unless some new kind of document should be discovered, or unless the library containing the contract tablets of the bank, or office, at which Daniel transacted business, should be unearthed, it is hopeless to expect that his name will ever be found on any document yet to be discovered.

[1] Dan. i, 7.

To be sure, we might have found, or may still find, a letter to him or from him; but the chance of ever finding such a letter is extremely small. As to the decrees, especially those of Nebuchadnezzar in chapter four and of Darius in chapter six, which purport to have been written, and to have been written most probably in different languages, we might naturally suppose that one or more of them would be discovered. But when we recall the fact that these at best would be but a few out of thousands of the decrees of the kings of Babylon and that not one of their decrees has thus far been unearthed, it is scarcely reasonable, to say the least, to expect that these particular decrees which are mentioned in Daniel should ever be found. To hope for the discovery of an historical document recording Daniel's name is groundless in view of the character and paucity of those we already possess. No public records of the kings would be likely to record the name of a servant, and we have no evidence that any private histories were ever written among the Babylonians or Persians. Our only reasonable expectation would seem to be that some future find may disclose to us a literary work, like the Achikar papyrus, which may contain some allusion to the events of Daniel's life, or even make mention of his name. But at present, we can deal only with the records that are known; and to these let us now address ourselves, citing first the objection of Dean Farrar and then proceeding to the assumptions involved in this objection and to a discussion of the evidence in favor of these assumptions, and closing with a few words summing up the conclusions to be derived from the evidence.

Objection Stated

"It is natural that we should turn to the monuments and inscriptions of the Babylonian, Persian, and Median empires to see if any mention can be found of so prominent a ruler. But hitherto neither his name has been discovered, nor the faintest trace of his existence."[1]

Assumptions Involved

It is assumed in this objection, (1) that the absence of the name of Daniel from the inscriptions of the period in which he is presumed to have lived would prove that he did not exist at that time, and (2) that inasmuch as we have not found on the monuments hitherto published "the faintest trace of his existence," he did not in fact exist.

Answer to Objections

These charges will have weight only with those who have never investigated the subject-matter and especially the proper names of the documents of that period. But, inasmuch as this absence of Daniel's name from all documents outside the Scriptures seems to have impressed Dean Farrar as a strong reason for denying his existence, we shall proceed to discuss the whole matter at some length. Let it be said, then, that this argument is fallacious because of the character of the documents to which Dean Farrar has turned for traces of Daniel's existence. These documents extend from the time of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, down to and including the time of Darius

[1] See *The Expositor's Bible, The Book of Daniel*, p. 5.

Hystaspis, thus covering the whole period during which Daniel is said to have lived. They may be divided into (1) contract tablets, (2) building inscriptions, (3) historical inscriptions, and (4) miscellaneous documents.

1. We place the *contract tablets* first, because they are the most numerous, because they have the largest number of proper names of persons upon them, and because these names have been almost all published and classified in a form easily accessible, by Prof. Knut L. Tallquist,[1] who has collated 3504 tablets, containing about 3000 names connoting about 12,000 persons. Among these we might have found the name of Daniel. But we do not find it there. When we examine these names a little more closely, however, the surprise and doubts engendered by this failure to find his name are dissipated. The name of Daniel, it is true, does not appear on these tablets; but neither can we be certain that the name of any other Hebrew is found there. *Certain*, we say; for it is probable that we do find several Hebrew names upon them, and it is possible that a number of persons denoted by Babylonian names may have been Hebrews. Several initial difficulties confront us in our endeavor to identify and establish the existence of the names of Jews on the documents of this period. The first is that most of the *forms* and *roots* of Hebrew names were common to the Jews along with the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Phenicians, or Arameans, so that it is exceedingly difficult to affirm with confidence, that a given name, without a clearly defining context, is the name of a Jew. The second is, that the way of writing the Hebrew names for God

[1] *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch zu den Geschäftsurkunden aus der Zeit des Šamaššumukin bis Xerxes.*

in the Babylonian texts is not clear. The third is, that it seems certain that many of the Jews and people of other nations who came to Babylon to settle, or were brought there as slaves, adopted, or were called by, native Babylonian names, thus destroying the trace of their race and nationality contained in their original native names. The fourth is, that in the case of the Jews, and of those who might have had the same names as Jews, the gentilic title (which is found a number of times with the names of Persians, Egyptians, and others) has never yet been found upon the Babylonian tablets. The fifth is that a different nomenclature was commonly employed for denoting slaves from that which was used for freemen.[1]

For these reasons, we may be pardoned for being exceedingly sceptical as to the possibility of the identification of the Jewish personal names of the Babylonian tablets from Nabopolassar to Darius Hystaspis inclusive; that is, during all the period in which Daniel is said to have lived. A few men, mostly slaves, like the frequently occurring Bazuzu, may have been Jews; but they may just as well have been Arabs or Arameans.[2]

[1] The freeman is X, the son of Y, the son of Z; the slave is merely X,—his parentage is never given. The reason for this being that the slave had no legal standing. He was the son of nobody and his children, in like manner, were the children of a nobody, since he could not be the founder of a family (*mar banu*)

[2] *E. g.*, Aqabi-ili (Nk. 393:4), Bariki-ili (Nk. 346:5, 408:2), Samaki-ili (Nk. 138:12), Adi-ili (Nk. 70:1, 7), Yadi-ili (Nk. 70:13), Idda son of Iddia a slave (Nk. 31:11), Aqabuya (Nd., 542:2), Hashda son of Ibna (Nd. 997:3), Samaku Cyr. 379:5, may just as well have been Arameans as Hebrews. Addu-natannu (Nd. 201:9) is a good Aramaic word. Shalti-ili is called an Arab slave (Nbp. 19:20). Padi might be Hebrew, but may, also, be Phenician. It was the name of a king of Ekron in Sennacherib's time and is found a number of times in the Assyrian

The fact, then, that the name Daniel has not been found on the Babylonian tablets of the sixth century B. C. does not prove that he did not live at Babylon at that time, any more than the fact that the names of other Jews are not found there proves that there were no Jews at Babylon. And yet this is the very time of the captivity! Surely, no one is going to deny that the Jews were taken to Babylon at all!

But even if the name were found, this would not prove that the man so named was a Jew. For the name Daniel has been discovered on both the Nabatean and Palmyrene documents as a name in use among these peoples.[1] Besides, the Babylonian name Dannuilu, which occurs on a tablet from the eighth year of Darius Hystaspis, as the father of a witness called Zeri, may be the same name as the Hebrew name Daniel.[2]

But in order to prove that a Daniel mentioned on a tablet was the Daniel of our book, the official position of the man would have to be given in a way which is not common on the tablets. The mere name would not be enough. We would require a description of the person named. But such descriptions are not ordinarily given in the Babylonian documents except in a very general way. As stated above, the name of the father may be mentioned, and sometimes that of the grandfather.

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records of the seventh century B. C. (Johns, *Assyrian Deeds, etc.*, iii, 238). Basia (Nk. 31:13), and Busasa (Cyr. 135:9), have a good Syriac root and good Syriac forms, whereas the root is wanting in Hebrew. Dadia may be Phenician and is found in Assyrian as early as the seventh century B. C. (Johns, *Ass. Deeds*, iii, 526.) Barikiya the son of Akka (Cyr. 59:8) looks like a good Hebrew name.

[1] See de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, p. 62; Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Inschriften*, p. 256.

[2] Strass. *Inschriften von Darius*, 236, 10.

But as we know nothing of either the father or of the family of Daniel the prophet, such a description on an inscription would not help to identify him. His calling, indeed, might have been given. For, frequently a man is called a *shangu* (priest), or a *shangu* of a certain god, or a smith or a secretary, or a measurer of corn, etc. But these descriptions are comparatively uncommon, and are especially unusual in describing the higher officials of the state.[1]

Inasmuch, however, as the name of Daniel is said to have been changed by Nebuchadnezzar, it may well be asked, whether his new Babylonian name does not occur in the documents of this time. But, here also, we have a great initial difficulty to overcome, in the fact that the authorities are not agreed as to what is the Babylonian equivalent of Belteshazzar. The Greek version and Josephus confounded the name with Belshazzar, giving Baltassar for both. Schrader took the name to be compounded of Balaṭsu-uṣur (protect his life), the name of the god being omitted. Sayce takes it to be for Belit-sharru-uṣur (Oh Bilat, protect the king), claiming that, as it is written in Daniel, it is a "compound which has no sense and would be impossible in the Babylonian language."[2] I would suggest as a third view, that we read Bel-liṭ-shar-uṣur, "Bel, protect the hostage of the king." The evidence[3] of

[1] We meet, however, such descriptions as "major-domo (*rab biti*) of Belshazzar" (Nd. 270:3), "overseer of the sons of the king" (Nd. 245:3), and *qipu*, "mayor" or "officer" (Nd. 33:5 *et passim*).

[2] *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 532.

[3] I take this to be Bel-liṭ-shar-uṣur "Bel protect the hostage of the king." For the omission of the *r* and the writing of the last two parts of the name "shazzar," compare the name Belshazzar (see Schrader KAT 433). It will be seen, that the last two syllables in the names Belshazzar and Belteshazzar are written in the same way in Babylonian

the manner of transliterating Babylonian names in Aramaic is conclusive in showing that Bel-liṭ-shar-uṣur would be written with but one *l*, as we find it in the book of Daniel. This interpretation of the name avoids the necessity of supposing that in Aramaic teth has been substituted for tau, as the meaning suggested by Prof. Sayce demands;—a change, moreover, which is not supported by the transliterations of the Aramaic names of the bi-lingual inscriptions nor by the papyri. We admit, that an exception might have occurred here; but, in view of the common usage, the burden of proof rests with the asserter of the change.[1]

The view suggested by me harmonizes with the statement of the author of Daniel that Nebuchadnezzar called him after the name of his god; and also with the statements of the first chapter of Daniel, which plainly imply that "certain of the children of Israel,

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and in Aramaic and Hebrew. As to the writing "Beliṭ" for "Belliṭ" numerous parallels may be found on the Babylonian inscriptions with Aramaic dockets, or indorsements. Thus Ashurraham is written in Aramaic with only one *r* (CIS ii, 43); Bana-neshaya, with only one *n* (Clay, *Aramaic Endorsements*, 40); Sulummadu, with only one *m* (*Cun. Texts of the U. of P.*, viii, Part I, p. 15): Pani-Nabu-ṭemu, with only one *n* (CIS ii, 62); Sar-rapid, with only one *r* (CIS ii, 81); Mar-shaggil-lumar, with only one *g* and one *l* (*id.*, 61); Bit-el-edil-ilani, with only one *il* (*id.*, 54); Ishtar-dur-kali, with *dr* written once but to be read apparently *tar-dur* (*id.*, 23); Nabu-takkil-ilani, with only one *il* (*id.*, 58). So in Syriac *kaukab-Bel* is written with one *b*. *Spicilegium Syriacum*, 15.

[1] For example, the Babylonian Beltu is always rendered in Syrian by Blty (*Spicilegium Syriacum*, 13, 14, 15.9, *et al.*), the *t* of Ahe-utir (Clay, *Aram. Indorsements*, 2), and Pihat-ah-iddina (*id.*, 80), has been correctly transliterated in the Aramaic indorsements by the letter Tau; whereas, in Bel-eṭir (Clay, *Aram. Ind.*, 30, 34, 41, 36 [?]), Shiṭa (*id.*, 4), Shamash-uballiṭ (BE, viii, ii, 68), and Pani-Nabu-ṭemu (CIS ii, 62) the ṭ is in all cases accurately transliterated in Aramaic with a Teth.

even the seed royal, and of the nobles" were taken to Babylon as hostages for the good behavior of the king and people of Judah. The taking of hostages in this manner had been a custom of the kings of Assyria and Babylonia.[1]

No valid objection can be raised against this interpretation of the meaning and of the method of writing this new name which was given by Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel. The interpretation here suggested fits in ex-

[1] Thus Sargon took the son of Daiakku the deputy (*Shaknu*) of Man as a hostage (*liṭu*). Later, he took one out of every three (?) of the chiefs (*nasikati*) of Gambuli as a hostage; and later still, he took hostages from the chiefs of Zami, Aburi, Nahani, and Ibuli *et al.*[1] These hostages, if youths, were brought up in the king's palace and were sometimes made kings of the subject nations. Thus Sennacherib set up as king of Shumer and Accad "Belibni a Chaldean of Babylonian origin who like a little dog had grown up in his palace."[2] Jahimilki, son of Baal, king of Tyre, was brought as a servant to Ashurbanipal[3] and afterwards was graciously given back to his father.[4] The sons of Jakinlu, king of Arwad, were brought to the same king of Assyria; one of them, Azibaal by name, was sent back to be king in his father's place, while the rest, nine in number, were clothed in rich garments, gifted with golden rings for their fingers, and caused to sit before the king.[5] The kings of Egypt were brought alive to Ashurbanipal; he showed grace to Necho, clothed him in royal apparel and a golden band, as became a king, put on his fingers golden rings, and girded him with an iron sword, adorned with gold, and with the name of Ashurbanipal upon it; gave him chariots and horses and made him king in Sais, at the same time that he set up Necho's son Nabu-shezi-banni as ruler over Athribis.[6]

It is probable that the kings of Babylon followed the example of the Assyrian kings. Thus, the members of the royal family of Judah were carried by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon and brought up in the royal palace. The names of some of these, at least, were changed, as had been that of the son of Necho, king of Egypt, by Ashurbanipal. Daniel we are told, received the name of Belteshazzar.

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[1] *Annals of Sargon*, 76, 262–270.

[2] Bellini *Cylinder* A, 13; KB ii, 115.

[3] KB ii, 169. [4] *Id.*, 171. [5] *Id.*, 173. [6] *Id.*, 167.

actly with the position of Daniel and with his relation to the king of Babylon as a hostage for the king of Judah at the time when it was given.

Having thus determined the meaning and writing of the name, let us proceed to the main question, as to whether such a name has been found on the records of that period. But, here, at the very outset, we must inquire what name we should expect to look for in the inscriptions. One would naturally suppose that we should look only for the name *Bel-liṭ-shar-uṣur;* and that, if we did not find this name written in full, we should conclude, that the Babylonian designation of Daniel did not occur in these documents. But no! This is not the case. For, Dr. Tallquist has very clearly shown that in ordinary usage the native Babylonians were in the habit of abbreviating their very lengthy names. He shows, first, that the first term in a name of four words may be omitted, as *Ina-eshi-eṭir* for *Nergal-ina-eshi-eṭir;* secondly, that the two first may be omitted, as *Bel-atkal* for *Ana-amat-Bel-atkal;* thirdly, that the second may be omitted, as *Minu-Bel-daianu* for *Minu-ana-Bel-daianu;* fourthly, that the second and third may be omitted, as *Shamash-eṭir* for *Shamash-ina-eshi-eṭir.* The first of these methods of abbreviation would allow us to read for *Bel-liṭ-shar-uṣur, Liṭa-shar-uṣur;* the second, *Shar-uṣur;* the third, *Bel-shar-uṣur;* and the fourth, *Bel-uṣur.* The first of these has not been found. The second is found possibly in an uncertain reading of document 168 of John's *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, the same name as the Sharezer of 2 Kings xix, 37, one of the sons of Sennacherib by whom the king was assassinated.[1] The fourth

[1] In Abydenus the successor of Sennacherib is called Nergilus. Putting

is rare, but is paralleled by Nabu-uṣur, which occurs as the name of nearly one hundred persons mentioned on Tallquist's tablets.[1] The third, Bel-shar-uṣur, coincides exactly with the name Belshazzar, the son of king Nabunaid, and is the only one of the four that is found on the tablets from which Dr. Tallquist has collected his chief list of names. Of all the Belshazzars mentioned in these lists, two or three only might possibly refer to Daniel. One of these is found on a tablet from the fourth year of Cyrus.[2] Here it is said that some *minas* of silver were to be delivered into the hands of Belshazzar the prince, or first officer, *asharidu*, of the king. On another tablet from the eighth year of the same king[3] there is mention of "Belshazzar, the man who was over the house of the king." In the second year of Darius Hystaspis, another tablet mentions a governor,[4] called Belshazzar. If we suppose that Daniel was the Belshazzar, the prince of the king, who is mentioned in the fourth year of Cyrus (535 B. C.), he would, when thus mentioned, have been only 85 years of age, if we suppose that his age when he was carried as hostage to Babylon was fifteen, or thereabout. Judging from the longevity of officials in the Orient to-day, he may have been the *major domo* of the eighth year of Cyrus, or even the governor of the

the two names together we would have Nergalsharezer, the first part of the name being preserved by Abydenus and the second part by the writer of Kings.[1]

[1] *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, p. 151.

[2] Strass. *Cyr.* 178, line 3.

[3] *Id.*, 312, line 5.

[4] *Amel pihati*, Strassmaier, Darius 42, 3.

[1] KAT 330, and Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i, 35.

second year of Darius Hystaspis. In the latter case, he would have been active at about 100 years of age. This is not so incredible as some would have us believe. In the preface to his great Arabic-English Lexicon, Edward William Lane mentions a number of native Arabic lexicographers from whom he derived the material for his dictionary. One of these, named Abu-Zeyd, lived to be 93; another, El-Asmafie, to be 92 or 93; another, Abu-Obajdih, to be about 98; and another, Abu-Amr Esh-Aheybanu, to be at least 110. Mr. James Creelman,[1] describing a visit to Jerusalem and other places in the Turkish empire, says that several of the heads of the great religious communities of that empire had then reached the age of nearly a hundred years, but that they were still enjoying the exercise of their high duties in apparently undiminished vigor of intellect and in certainly undisputed authority.[2]

Further, a presupposition in favor of believing that the Babylonians wrote the Babylonian name of Daniel in the same way that they wrote the name of Belshazzar, the son of the king, is to be derived from the fact that the Greek of the Septuagint version and of Jose-

[1] *Pearson's Magazine*, Sept.–Nov., 1909.

[2] The author of this chapter is especially sceptical upon this argument based upon the impossibility of Daniel's having come to Babylon in the year of the beginning of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and yet having been alive and flourishing in the reign of Darius Hystaspis. For the sake of the bearing upon the case in discussion, he may be pardoned for saying that his great-grandmother Graham, *née* McCreery, died at the age of 99; a great grand-uncle, Thomas Dick, at the age of 101, two great-uncles, John Dick, and Robert at 92 and 94 respectively; and his great-grandfather, Joseph Wilson, at 105. This last mentioned the writer himself has seen, when he was more than 100 years old. He was active in brain and body till the last, was never ill in his life, and simply went to sleep at last one night and never waked. A simple life, lived in the fear of God, is conducive to longevity; and so may it have been with Daniel,

phus transliterated both the names in the same way in Greek; that is, by Baltasar.[1]

As we have shown, then, that a Belshazzar, who may have been the Daniel of our book, was an "*asharidu* of the king" in the fourth year of Cyrus, it may be well to ask, before we leave this inquiry, what is the meaning and use of the term *asharidu*. Delitzsch[2] defines it as "the first, the noblest, the first in rank";[3] and Muss-Arnolt,[4] as "supreme, leader, prince, first in place." It is used as an epithet of many gods. Thus, we find "Sin the first son (*asharidu*) of Bel," Shamash, Ninib, and Marduk are each called the *asharidu* of the gods. Nergal is called the *asharidu*. It is used, especially of the first-born son of the king, as "Nebuchadnezzar, the son (*asharidu*) of Nabopolassar," "Antiochus, the son (*asharidu*) of Seleucus." Kings, also, used the title of themselves; thus Ashurnaṣir-abal says, "I am the *asharidu*"; Sennacherib says that he is the "*asharidu* of all kings." It is used, finally, of the nobles of the land. In the tablets, which Tallquist has used, it is employed for a small number of persons only, so that Daniel may well have borne the title in his position as third ruler in the kingdom.[5]

[1] This Baltasar is a correct transliteration of Belshazzar into Greek through the ordinary Aramaic of northern pre-Christian Syria. Compare, for example, Iltehiri for Ilshahri, and Iltammesh for Ilshamesh. (BE X, pp. xiii, xiv.)

[2] *Assyr. Handwörterbuch.*

[3] *Der erste, der vornehmste, der an Rang hochstehende.* See HWB *in loc.*

[4] *Dictionary of the Assyrian Language.*

[5] The following are the names and dates of the *asharidus* mentioned by Tallquist, the tablets being numbered after Strassmaier.

From the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

Nabu-ushezib Nk. 22:9;	Ubar Nk. 175:13;
Mar-Bel-atkal Nk. 40:2;	Nazia Nk. 365:12, 369:6;
Shamash-kin-ahu-Nk. 131:23;	Nabu-shar-uṣur Nk. 394:3.

2. Having examined the contract tablets we now turn to the so-called *building inscriptions*. Might we not expect to find the name of Daniel, or Belteshazzar, upon these? Let us look at them and see. All of the building inscriptions of the Chaldean kings have been translated by Dr. Stephen Langdon.[1] In his inscriptions, Nabopolassar mentions beside himself, no one but Nebuchadnezzar, his first born son, and Nabu-shum-lishir, the latter's twin brother, and these but once each.[2] Nebuchadnezzar, in his 27 inscriptions, gives us the names of none of his contemporaries, the only names save his own which occur being those of his father Nabopolassar and his remote ancestor Naramsin, the latter mentioned only once.[3] He speaks of kings and governors (*pihati*) once, and once of the princes (*sagganake*) of the land of the Hittites,[4] and once of "the kings of the remote regions which are by the Upper

From the reign of Nergal-shar-uṣur (Neriglissar):
Nabu-ṣabit-ḳati Ng. 7:8, 58:6.

From the reign of Nabunaid:
Bel-ahe-iddin Nd. 260: 3, 282:2 (?), 517:3 (?) (-Ngl. 44:2;)
Innia Nd. 261:3 (?)
Ardi-ta-? aala Nd. 282:23;
Itti-sharri-balaṭu Nd. 573:10;
Liburu Nd. 578:10;
Addu Nd. 782:5.

From the reign of Cyrus:
Bel-shar-uṣur Cyr. 188:3;
Rihitum Cyr. 204:6;
Sikkabul Cyr. 243;
Sin-bel-usur Cyr. 270:4.

From the reign of Cambyses:
Ardi-ahe-shu Cam. 79:4;
Terik-sharrutsu Cam. 93:7;
Nabu-dini-bulliṭ Cam. 368:3;
Nabu-miti-uballiṭ Cam. 368:10;
Nabu-bullitanni Cam. (407:14, 408:12).

From the reign of Darius Hystaspis:
Iddiranu Dar. 366:17.

[1] *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire.*

[2] *Inscription* i, Col. ii, 70, and iii, 5.

[3] *Id.*, ii, 26.

[4] *Id.*, xvii, Col. iii, 10.

Sea and the kings of the remote regions which are by the Lower Sea."[1] Neriglissar in his two inscriptions mentions no one but himself and his father Bel-shum-ishkun, the latter but twice.[2] Nabunaid, in the seven inscriptions, with their parallels, given in Langdon's work mentions none but names of kings.[3]

In fact, the only names coming within the period we are discussing are names of men of royal blood such as Nebuchadnezzar, his twin brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, and their father Nabopolassar; Nabunaid, his father Nabu-balaṭsu-iḳbi and Nabunaid's son Belshazzar; and Cyrus and his opponent Astyages.

The Persian building inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis bear no names of persons except those of Darius and his father Hystaspis the Achæmenid.[4]

[1] Langdon, *op. cit.*, xvii, Col. ii, 25–29.

[2] *Id.*, I, Col. i, 14, and II, Col. i, 11.

[3] To wit: In the great inscription from Ur, Nebuchadnezzar and his father Nabopolassar (Col. i, 50, ii, 40, 41, 53), Burnaburiash (Col. i, 55, 57), Sargon and Naram-Sin his son (Col. ii, 29), Kurigalzu (Col. ii, 32), Shagashaltiash (Col. iii, 44) and Belshazzar his first born son (Col. ii, 26, iii, 59). In the parallel passage, he names also Hammurabi (Col. ii, 20, Col. iii, 2, 28). In the small inscription from Ur, he mentions Ur-Uk (Col. i, 8, 12, 15, 22), Dungi his son (Col. i, 10, 13, 17, 22), and "Belshazzar, his (own) first born son, the offspring of his heart" (Col. ii, 24–26). In the great *Cylinder* from Abu-Habba, he names his own father Nabu-balatsu-iḳbi the wise prince (*rubu imgu*), Cyrus, king of Anshan, his (Astyages') little servant (Col. i, 29), Astyages king of the Umman-manda (Col. i, 32), Ashurbanipal and his father Esarhaddon (Col. i, 47, 48), Shalmanassar and his father Ashur-naṣir-abal (Col. ii, 3, 4), Nebuchadnezzar (Col. ii, 49), Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon (Col. ii, 57, 64, iii, 8), Shagashaltiburiash (Col. iii, 28, 31), and Kudur-Bel (Col. iii, 29, 31). In the *Cylinder* inscription, he mentions his own father, Nabu-balaṭsu-iḳbi (Col. i, 16), and Naram-Sin (Col. i, 31). Finally, on three sample bricks, there appear the names of Nabunaid and of his father Nabu-balaṭsu-iḳbi. It will be observed, that all the names mentioned are the names of kings, and mostly of kings who had lived long before Nabunaid.

[4] Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, H, I, B, L, X.

3. Of *historical inscriptions* from this period, we have first the fragments of one describing Nebuchadnezzar's expedition to Egypt in his 37th year. On this he mentions, beside himself, Amasis king of Egypt, and perhaps Pittacus the tyrant of Mitylene.[1]

In the Cyrus *Cylinder*, we find the names of Nabunaid, and those of Teispis, the great grandfather of Cyrus, of Cyrus his grandfather, of Cambyses his father and of Cambyses his son. In the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle*, we find the names of Astyages, Nabunaid, Cyrus, Cambyses his son, Ugbaru (Gubaru ?) and Nabu-mah (?)-rib-ahu.

On the Behistun inscription of Darius Hystaspis, there are found beside the frequent occurrence of the name of Darius, the names of Cyrus, Cambyses, and the two Smerdises; the names of Achæmenes, Teispes, Ariaramnes, Arsames, and Hystaspis, the ancestors of Darius; the names of the associates of Darius in the insurrection against Smerdis the Magian, Intaphernes the son of Vayaspara, Otanes the son of Thukhra, Gobryas the son of Mardonius, Hydarnes the son of Bagabigna, Bagabukhasha the son of Daduhya, and Ardamanish the son of Vahauka; the names of the rebels who rebelled against Darius, Gomates (Smerdis), Athrina the son of Upadarma, Nadintu-Bel and Arakhu who called themselves by the name of Nebuchadnezzar and claimed to be sons of Nabunaid, Martiya son of Cicikhrish who said he was Ummanish, Fravartish who said he was Khshathrita of the family of Uvakhshatara (Cyaxares), Citrantakhma who claimed to be of the

[1] The syllable *Am* is wanting in Amasis and only *ku* remains to indicate Pittacus. Whether Mitylene is the correct rendering of Butuyaman is questionable. See Zehnpfund-Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, p. 206.

family of Uvakhshatara, Frada, and Vahyasdata who claimed to be Bardiya (Smerdis) the son of Cyrus; the names of certain generals who led the forces of Darius against the rebels, Hydarnes, Dadarshish the Armenian, Dadarshish the Persian, Vaumisa, Takhmaspada, Hystaspis (the father of Darius), Artavardiya, Vivana, and Vaidafra; and in the small inscription K, the name of Skunka, the Saka. On his other historical inscriptions, Darius mentions no one but himself and his father Hystaspis the Achæmenid.

4. Taking up the miscellaneous inscriptions, we shall look first at the one lately published by M. Pognon in his Semitic inscriptions from Syria, etc.[1] We find there the names of Ashurbanipal and Ashur-edil-ilani, kings of Assyria; of Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar, and Nabunaid, kings of Babylon, and of Nabunaid the son of the last named, "the offspring of his heart and the beloved of his mother."

From the times of Darius Hystaspis, we have the Suez boundary stones, several mortuary inscriptions from Naksh-i-Rustem, and some coins. These mention beside Darius himself, the name of Hystaspis the Achæmenid, his father, and the name of the bearer of his bow, Gobryas, and that of his bridle-holder and companion, Aspaçana.

It will be noticed, that in all these last three kinds of inscriptions are to be found few names beside those of kings, and the fathers and sons of kings. Most of the inscriptions contain only the name of the royal author and generally that of his father. Sometimes, distant ancestors or predecessors are named. Outside the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis, we find altogether only the name of Ugbaru (Gubaru?) the governor of

[1] *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie.*

Gutium, possibly that of Pittacus tyrant of Mitylene, and that of Nabu-mah (?)-rib-ahu.[1] In Darius' inscriptions, also, it will be noticed that aside from ancestors, kings, and pretenders, and their fathers, or ancestors, he mentions none but a few of his generals, his six fellow-conspirators and their fathers, his bearer of the bow and his bridle-holder. No civil officers are mentioned, unless we put in this category, Vivana, the satrap of Arachosia, and Dadarshish, the satrap of Bactria, who are named, also, among his generals and because they were generals.

Conclusion

Inasmuch, then, as these inscriptions mention no one filling any of the positions, or performing any of the functions, or doing any of the deeds, which the book of Daniel ascribes to its hero Belteshazzar; how can anyone expect to find in them any mention of Daniel, in either its Hebrew or its Babylonian form? And is it fair, in view of what the monuments of all kinds make known to us, to use the fact that they do not mention Daniel at all, as an argument against his existence?

What about the numerous governors, judges, generals, priests, wise men, writers, sculptors, architects, and all kinds of famous men, who must have lived during that long period? Who planned and supervised the building of the magnificent canals, and walls, and palaces, and temples of Babylon? Who led the armies, and held in subjection and governed the provinces, and adjudged cases in the high courts of justice, and sat in the king's council? Who were the mothers and wives

[1] A person whose name cannot be further defined, since the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle* is broken both before and after the name.

and queenly daughters of the monarchs, who sat upon the thrones of those mighty empires? Had the kings no friends, no favorites, no adulatory poets or historians, no servile prophets, no sycophantic priests, no obsequious courtiers, who were deemed worthy to have their names inscribed upon these memorials of royal pride and victory; that we should expect to find there the name of Daniel, a Hebrew captive, a citizen of an annihilated city, a member of a despised and conquered nation, a stranger living on the bounty of the king, an alien, a slave, whose very education was the gift of his master and his elevation dependent on his grace? Let him believe who can. As for me, were the documents multiplied tenfold, I would not expect to find in them any reference to this humble subject of imperious kings.

CHAPTER III

DANIEL I, 1, AND THE ARGUMENT FROM SILENCE.

IT has been shown in the first chapter that the records preserved to us from the nations of antiquity that were contemporaneous with the Israelites during the whole period in which the Old Testament books were written are few, partial, biased, and lacunose. We have shown, also, that the Hebrew documents themselves do not present us with a full or continuous account of the history of the Israelitish people. The silence, therefore, of these documents with regard to an event or person is no sufficient evidence that the person did not live, or that a given event did not occur. In the present chapter this conclusion will be illustrated by a consideration of the objection made to the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim on the ground that the records contemporary with Daniel do not mention it.

OBJECTION STATED

Concerning the statement of Dan. i, 1, that Daniel "was brought to the court of Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of Jehoiakim," De Wette-Schrader says:

It is clearly false, because according to Jer. xxv, 1, xlvi, 2, the fourth year of Jehoiakim is the first of Nebuchad-

nezzar; and according to Jer. xxv, 9, and also according to xxxvi, 9, the Chaldeans had not yet come to Jerusalem in the fifth year of Jehoiakim. Besides the captivity under Zedekiah, history knows of no other than that under Jehoachin in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar.[1] Chronicles alone[2] tells of a captivity of Jehoiakim. This last place the composer probably used and got his date from 2 Kings xxiv, 1.[3]

Professor Prince says:

It is known from Jer. 25, 1, and 36, 9, 29, that Nebuchadnezzar did not begin his reign in Babylon until the fourth year of Jehoiakim in Judah, and that the Babylonians in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim had not yet come to Jerusalem, which was taken in July, 586 B. C. The origin of the error has been traced to a false combination of 2 Ch. 36, 6 ff., and 2 K. 24, 1.[4]

Mr. A. R. Bevan says:

The statement in v. 1 that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim seems to be due to a combination of 2 K. 24, 1, 2, with 2 Ch. 36, 6. In Kings, the "three years" are not, of course, the first three years of Jehoiakim's reign, nor is there any mention of a siege. The idea that Jerusalem was captured under Jehoiakim appears first in Chronicles, but no date is given. The author of Daniel follows the account in Chronicles, at the same time assuming that the "three years" in Kings date from the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, and that "the bands of the Chaldeans" were a regular army commanded by Nebuchadnezzar.[5]

[1] 2 Kings, xxiv, 12 ff. According to Jer. lii, 28, in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar.

[2] 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6 f.

[3] *Einleitung*, 8th ed., p. 486.

[4] *Commentary on Daniel*, p. 18

[5] *The Book of Daniel*, p. 57.

Dr. Driver says:

That Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, and carried away some of the sacred vessels in "the *third* year of Jehoiakim" (Dan. i, 1 f.), though it cannot, strictly speaking, be disproved, is highly improbable; not only is the book of Kings silent, but Jeremiah *in the following year* (c. 25, &c., see v. 1) speaks of the Chaldeans in a manner which appears distinctly to imply that their arms had not yet been seen in Judah.[1]

Assumption Involved

The main assumption in all of these objections is that the silence of the book of Kings and other sources with regard to an expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem in Jehoiakim's third year renders improbable the statement of Daniel that such an expedition did occur.

Answers to the Assumption

An attempt will now be made to show that this silence does not render such an expedition improbable. Having in the first chapter discussed this kind of argument in general, I shall confine myself in this chapter to a consideration of the argument from silence in so far merely as it affects the particular statements of Dan. i, 1.

I. First of all, let us gather all the evidence that contemporary documents afford concerning the life of Jehoiakim, beginning with the *Book of Kings.* All that this book has to say on this subject will be found in 2 Kings xxiii, 36, 37, and xxiv, 1–7, which the American Standard Version renders as follows:

[1] LOT p. 498.

XXIII, 36. Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he began to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Zebidah the daughter of Pedaiah Rumah. (37) And he did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah, according to all that his fathers had done.

XXIV, 1. In his days Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years; then he turned and rebelled against him. (2) And Jehovah sent against him bands of the Chaldeans, and bands of the Syrians, and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of Jehovah, which he spake by his servants the prophets. (3) Surely at the commandment of Jehovah came this upon Judah, to remove them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he did, (4) and also for the innocent blood that he shed; for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood: and Jehovah would not pardon. (5) Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? (6) So Jehoiakim slept with his fathers; and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead. (7) And the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land; for the king of Babylon had taken, from the brook of Egypt to the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt.

It will be noted that Jehoiakim reigned eleven years. Since, according to Jer. xxv, 1, the first year of Nebuchadnezzar corresponded to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, they must have reigned eight years contemporaneously. Yet all that the book of Kings has to say in regard to the relations between Babylon, Egypt, and Jerusalem during these eight years is:

First, that in Jehoiakim's days Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon came up against Jerusalem, and that Jehoiakim served him three years.

Secondly, that then Jehoiakim rebelled again against him.

Thirdly, that the king of Egypt did not come again out of his land, because the king of Babylon had taken all that belonged to him from the brook (*wady*) of Egypt to the river Euphrates.

It will be noted, further, that the book of Kings does not say in what year Nebuchadnezzar came up. The only notes of time are, that he came up in Jehoiakim's days, and that Jehoiakim served him three years. Unless it can be shown that the phrase "King of Babylon" cannot be used proleptically, or that Nebuchadnezzar cannot have been called king before his father's death,[1] he may have come during Jehoiakim's reign at any time not earlier than the latter's third year. If Jehoiakim's rebellion was in his own eleventh year, this would leave time for the three years of service immediately before he rebelled, that is, from the eighth to the eleventh year of Jehoiakim's reign.

It will be noted, also, that Nebuchadnezzar may have come up against Judah and Jerusalem, during the period between the fall of Nineveh and the death of Jehoiakim, a number of times every year, for aught we know to the contrary. Frequent expeditions across the Euphrates were customary on the part of the kings of the Assyrians, who immediately preceded the Babylonians in the government of Syria and Palestine. Thus, Shalmaneser III says that he crossed the Euphrates twenty-two times in the first twenty-two years of his reign.[2] Is there any reason for supposing that what had been done by this king of Assyria

[1] For a discussion of these questions, see Chapter V.

[2] *Obelisk Inscription of Nimrud* 27, 33, 37, 45, 57, 85, 87, 89, 91, 96, 97, 99, 100, 102, 104

may not have been done, also, by the king of Babylon? What was possible for one was possible, also, for the other. Shalmaneser speaks of crossing the Amanus mountains seven times and of coming against the cities of Kati of Kana (Cilicia) four times.[1] Why may Nebuchadnezzar not have crossed Lebanon and have come against Judah in like manner, and any number of times that seemed best to him, for the accomplishment of his aims of conquest? It will not be sufficient to say in answer to this, that these campaigns could not have taken place, inasmuch as no mention of them is made on the monuments of Nebuchadnezzar; because we have no inscriptions of his that record his campaigns. We know from his building inscriptions and from the fragments of his one historical inscription that the lands to the west of the Euphrates were subject to him, and that he invaded Egypt once, at least. We are told in the writings of Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus that he ruled over Egypt, Syria, Phenicia, Arabia, and Judea, and other Mediterranean lands. We are told in the Scriptures outside of Daniel that he was in possession of Syria and conquered Judea and was to be given Tyre and Sidon and Egypt. How many years and how many expeditions it took to make these conquests, we are not informed; but all authorities combine in pointing to the beginning of his reign and the years immediately preceding this, as a time of great and almost continuous activity in warlike enterprises. Consequently it is not a sufficient proof of his having made no expeditions against Judah before the fourth year of Jehoiakim to say that the Scriptures outside of Daniel do not mention such an expedition. This will appear from the following sections:

[1] *Id.*, 132, 135.

II. For all that Jeremiah, the prophet, has to say about the reign of Jehoiakim is as follows. In ch. xxv, 1-3, he says that the word of the Lord came to him:

In the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The which Jeremiah the prophet spake unto all the people of Judah, and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying, From the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon king of Judah, even unto this day, that is the three and twentieth year, the word of the Lord hath come unto me, and I have spoken unto you, rising early and speaking; but ye have not hearkened.

In xxv, 8, 9, he adds:

Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts; Because ye have not heard my words, Behold, I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant, and will bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these nations round about, and will utterly destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and perpetual desolations.

In xxvi, 1, and xxvii, 1, it is said that the word of the Lord came unto Jeremiah in the *beginning of the reign* of Jehoiakim, probably meaning his first or accession's year. In the former, the prophet says that if they will not hearken unto Jehovah, He will make the temple like Shiloh and the city a curse to all the nations of the earth; in the latter, he says that all nations shall serve Nebuchadnezzar. In xxxv, 1, he tells of a prophecy unto the house of the Rechabites, who came to him in the days of Jehoiakim, and explained

their presence in Jerusalem by saying (v. 11): "it came to pass, when Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up into the land, that we said, Come, and let us go to Jerusalem for fear of the army of the Chaldeans, and for fear of the army of the Syrians; so we dwell at Jerusalem."

In chapters xxxvi, xlv, and xlvi, we have prophecies from the fourth year of Jehoiakim and in xxxvi, 9, from his fifth year. In xxxvi, 1–8, he speaks of a roll which he gave to Baruch to be read by him in the house of the Lord. In xxxvi, 9, he says that Baruch read the roll, apparently a second time, in the ninth month of the fifth year; and in the 29th and 30th verses, we learn that there were written in the roll the words: "The king of Babylon shall certainly come and destroy this land . . . and Jehoiakim shall have none to sit upon the throne of David; and his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost." After the roll had been burned by Jehoiakim, we are told that another roll was written containing the same words, and also "there were added besides unto them many like words" (v. 32). Chapter xlv is a prophecy to and concerning Baruch which is said to have been written in the fourth year of Jehoiakim.

In xlvi, 1, 2, is recorded the "word of the Lord which came to Jeremiah the prophet against the Gentiles; Against Egypt, against the army of Pharaoh-Necho king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim." In this chapter it says that the Egyptians shall stumble and fall toward the north by (*'al*) the river Euphrates (v. 6); for the Lord God of hosts hath a sacrifice in the north country by (*'el*) the river Euphrates (v. 10); and that Egypt and all

her helpers shall be delivered into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar (v. 26).[1]

From these passages we learn:

1. That the book of Jeremiah does not pretend to give us a history of the events of the time of Jehoiakim. The prophecies of the 26th and 27th chapters are from the beginning of his reign; those of the 25th, 36th, 45th, and 46th are from his fourth year, except a part of the 36th, which is from his fifth year; and the prophecy concerning the Rechabites in the 35th chapter is said to be from "the days of Jehoiakim." Moreover, we are expressly told in xxxvi, 32, that many words like to those which have been preserved to us were added unto them by Baruch. We have, therefore, in the book as it stands, only selections and fragments of the records of Jeremiah.

2. That even of the few records of the reign of Jehoiakim preserved in the passage above mentioned, but a small number refer directly to international events. Thus, chapter xxxv concerns the Rechabites and chapter xlv, Baruch the scribe of Jeremiah; chapter xxxvi gives an account of the roll that was written by Baruch and burned by the king; chapters xxv, xxvi, and xxvii, are directed against Judah, and the nations round about, and especially against Jerusalem and the temple, naming Nebuchadnezzar as God's servant and instrument in the punishment of the nations and the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple; chapter xlvi alone is concerned exclusively with foreign affairs, *viz.* with Egypt and Babylon.

3. That Jeremiah mentions specifically no expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Judah or Jerusalem in the days of Jehoiakim.

[1] See, also, i, 3; xxii, 18, 19.

4. But he implies in a number of places that such expeditions had been made. For,

(1) Jehoiakim had been made king by Pharaoh-Necho. When Necho was defeated and his power destroyed at Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Jerusalem would inevitably fall under the domination of Nebuchadnezzar.

(2) Jeremiah says that the Rechabites came and settled in Jerusalem for fear of the army of the Chaldeans, when Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came into the land.

(3) Jeremiah says that Nebuchadnezzar should certainly come and destroy the land and that the dead body of Jehoiakim should be cast out, apparently by the Chaldeans.

5. The only dates given are "The days of Jehoiakim" (xxxv, 1), "the fourth year of Jehoiakim" (xxxvi, 1; xxv, 1; xlvi, 2), and "the fifth year of Jehoiakim" (xxxvi, 9); the fourth year of Jehoiakim is synchronized with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (xxv, 1); and it is stated that Jeremiah prophesied for 23 years from the 13th year of Josiah to the 4th year of Jehoiakim.

III. The book of Chronicles says with regard to the reign of Jehoiakim:

The king of Egypt made Eliakim his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem, and turned his name to Jehoiakim. And Necho took Jehoahaz his brother, and carried him to Egypt. Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem; and he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord his God. Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon, and bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar also carried off the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon,

Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and his abominations which he did, and that which was found in him, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah. (2 Chron. xxxvi, 4–8.)

It will be noted that here it is expressly stated:

1. That Nebuchadnezzar did come up to Jerusalem in the days of Jehoiakim.

2. That he bound Jehoiakim in chains to carry him to Babylon.

3. That Nebuchadnezzar at this time carried some of the vessels of the house of Jehovah to Babylon and put them in the temple at Babylon.

IV. Neither Ezekiel, nor any other Old Testament book except Jeremiah, Kings, Chronicles, and Daniel, mentions Jehoiakim.

V. Outside the Scriptures, the testimony of the monuments bearing upon this time is as follows:

1. The monuments of Egypt which mention Necho's operations in Syria consist merely of the fragments of a stele bearing his name in hieroglyphic. This stele was found at Sidon.[1]

2. The records of Nebuchadnezzar contain nothing bearing directly upon the subject of his warlike expeditions, except the fragment found in Egypt referring to an Egyptian campaign in his 37th year.[2] The contract tablets are absolutely silent upon the political actions of his reign. As to the building inscriptions we might infer[3] that at the time when these buildings were erected,

[1] Breasted's *History of Egypt*, p. 405, and PSBA xvi, 91.

[2] Zehnpfund-Langdon, *Die Neo-Babylonischen Köningsinschriften*, p. 207. English original p. 182.

[3] This inference is to be made from his mention of the cedar beams with which he rebuilt Borsippa (Langdon, I, Col. ii, 2) such as Ezida (XI, Col. i, 21, and especially VII, Col. i, 25), and other of his works (*id.* V,

he held dominion over Syria, including as far as Mt. Lebanon at least.

VI. Lastly, I shall quote what the profane historians say about these times.

1. Josephus, in his *Antiquities*, XI, vi, 1–3, says:

> In the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was at Euphrates, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Necho, king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Necho understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his attempt, but made haste with a great band of men to Euphrates to defend himself against Nebuchadnezzar; and when they had joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many ten thousands in the battle. So the king of Babylon passed over Euphrates, and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eighth of Jehoiakim's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war against him. He was frightened at his threatening, and bought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years. 2. But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his

Col. i, 22); his reference to the temple roofs(IX, Col. ii, 19), and his royal palace for which he brought "great cedars from Lebanon" (IX, Col. iii, 26); the great cedar beams of Emahtila (XIII, Col. i, 41, 42) of Ekua and other temples and shrines (*id.* XV, Col. iii, 27, 41, 51, Col. vi, 2, 4, and Col. viii, 3, Col. ix, 3, 10 *et al.*, XVI, Col. i, 20), and especially from XVII, Col. iii, where he speaks of summoning the princes of the land of the Hittites beyond the Euphrates westward over whom he exercised lordship. (XVII, Col. iii, 8–22.)

tribute. . . . 3. Now a little time afterwards, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, whom he received into the city and then out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet [*i. e.*, of Jeremiah], as supposing that he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him; yet when he was come into the city, he did not observe the covenant he had made; but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country and of the city: he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon; among whom was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but young. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven.

Further, in his work against Apion, i, 19, Josephus says that Berosus in his History comes at length to "Nabolassar [Nabopolassar], who was king of Babylon and of the Chaldeans," and that Berosus in relating the acts of this king "describes to us how he sent his son Nabuchodonosor against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him; and how by that means, he subdued them all."

From these accounts of Josephus, we learn:

(1) That Nebuchadnezzar, before he became king, was sent by his father on an expedition against Egypt and Palestine.

(2) That Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians in the fourth year of Jehoiakim.

(3) That Nebuchadnezzar defeated Necho at Carchemish.

(4) That Nebuchadnezzar conquered Syria as far as Pelusium, excepting Judea, immediately after the battle of Carchemish.

(5) But that he did not make an expedition against Jerusalem till the eighth year of Jehoiakim, which was his own fourth year.

(6) That Jehoiakim paid tribute for three years.

(7) That Jerusalem was taken in the eleventh year of Jehoiakim; at which time Jehoiakim himself was killed and his body thrown before the wall without any burial.

2. In addition to the above, Berosus has the following to say about Nebuchadnezzar, to wit:

> His father having perceived that the Egyptians and others had revolted, sent his son Nabuchodonosor with a great army against Egypt and against the land of Judea, who overpowered them and set fire to the temple which was in Jerusalem; and having entirely removed all the people who were in the country settled them at Babylon. It came to pass also that the city was in a state of desolation for a space of 70 years, until Cyrus king of the Persians. And he [*i. e.*, Berosus] says, that the Babylonians ruled over Egypt, Syria, Phenicia, and Arabia, and surpassed in deeds all who had been kings before him over the Chaldeans and Babylonians.[1]

Further, he says:

> When Nabopolassar his [Nebuchadnezzar's] father, heard that the satrap who had been stationed in Egypt and in the plains of Cœle-Syria and Phenicia had revolted, not being able longer to endure the evil, having entrusted to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was then in full manhood, some parts of the army, he sent him against him [*i. e.*, Nabopo-

[1] Josephus, *Contra Apion*, i, 19.

lassar sent Nebuchadnezzar against the satrap who had revolted]. And Nebuchadnezzar having joined battle with the rebel overpowered him and made the country a province under his dominion. And it happened that at this time his father Nabopolassar was seized with a lingering ailment and died in the city of the Babylonians after he had been king 29 years. Nebuchadnezzar having learned, shortly after, of the death of his father, after he had set in order the affairs in Egypt and the rest of the countries and had committed to some of his friends the captives of the Jews and Phenicians and Syrians and of the nations belonging to Egypt to bring into Babylonia with the bulk [lit. heavy part] of the army and the remainder of the spoils; he himself with a very few attendants hastened through the desert to Babylon, where he found that the affairs had been managed by Chaldeans and the kingdom watched over by the best one of them, so that he became lord of the whole of the government of his father, and he gave orders to appoint settlements for the captives in the fittest places of Babylonia, while he himself from the spoils of the war adorned the temple of Bel and other temples in a lavish manner.[1]

He then describes the walls and palaces, adding:

In these royal palaces he built lofty stone substructures and made the prospect as like to a mountain as possible by planting trees of all sorts and by making what is called a paradise; because his queen, who had been brought up in Media, desired a mountainous situation.[2]

3. Eusebius says that Abydenus in his history of the Assyrians has preserved the following fragment of Megasthenes, a Greek historian who lived about 300 B. C., and was a trusty ambassador of Seleucus Nicator[3]:

[1] *Cont. Ap.*, i, 19. [2] *Id.*, i, 20.

[3] Abydenus himself died in 268 B. C., having written, among other works, a history of Assyria. He is said to have been a pupil of Berosus

"Nebuchadnezzar, having become more powerful than Hercules, invaded Libya and Iberia, and when he had rendered them tributary, he extended his conquests over the inhabitants of the shores upon the right of the sea."[1] These statements of Abydenus, taken from Megasthenes, are so indefinite as to be worthless as testimony in regard to the matter under discussion.

4. No other sources make any mention of the deeds of Jehoiakim, or of any other events recorded in the Scriptures as having occurred in his days.

Conclusion

Summing up the testimony, we find:

1. That Kings, Chronicles, Berosus, Josephus, and Daniel all affirm that Nebuchadnezzar did come up against Jerusalem in the days of Jehoiakim.

2. That Chronicles, Daniel, Berosus, and Josephus unite in saying that Nebuchadnezzar carried many captives from Judea to Babylon in the reign of Jehoiakim.

3. That Berosus supports the statement of Daniel with regard to the carrying away of some of the vessels of the house of the Lord by saying that Nebuchadnezzar brought spoils from Judea which were put in the temple of Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon.

4. That Berosus supports Daniel in declaring an expedition against Jerusalem to have occurred before the death of Nabopolassar.

5. That since Nabopolassar died while Nebuchadnezzar was in the midst of his expedition against Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar may have been king *de jure* before he came up against Jerusalem; for it would take

[1] Eusebius, *Prep. Evan.*, lib. x.

the news of the death of Nabopolassar several weeks to reach Jerusalem, and in those weeks there would have been abundance of time for Nebuchadnezzar to have captured Jerusalem, especially if Jehoiakim surrendered at this time without fighting or after a brief siege, as Josephus says that he did in his eleventh year.[1]

6. That the book of Jeremiah is silent with regard to all of these events. It does not say that Nebuchadnezzar did not come up to Jerusalem in the reign of Jehoiakim. It simply says nothing about it. Why it says nothing about it we do not know. The expedition or expeditions may have been mentioned in "the many like words" recorded by Baruch (Jer. xxxvi, 32), which have not been preserved for us.

7. That, finally, the statement of Daniel i, 1-3, that Nebuchadnezzar came up against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim and carried captive to Babylon certain of the nobility, and some of the vessels of the house of the Lord, stands absolutely unimpugned by any testimony to be produced from any reliable source of information.

[1] Jos., *Ant.*, X, vi, 3. Josephus says that Jehoiakim received Nebuchadnezzar into the city out of fear of a prediction of Jeremiah "supposing that he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gate, nor fought against him."

CHAPTER IV

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S EXPEDITION AGAINST JERUSALEM

AFTER having declared that the author of Daniel is wrong in placing the first expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim, because our other sources of information are silent with regard to such an expedition, the critics turn around and say that the author of Daniel was acquainted with the same sources as we are, and yet deliberately made this false statement because of his erroneous interpretations and combinations of these sources. He had before him the books of Kings, Chronicles, and Jeremiah, in the same form, as far as they refer to Nebuchadnezzar's relations to Jehoiakim and Jerusalem, that we have them; and yet, according to the critics, contrary to these sources, he incorrectly puts the third year of Jehoiakim as the year of Nebuchadnezzar's first expedition against Jerusalem, combines the statements of Kings and Chronicles in an erroneous manner, and is apparently ignorant enough of military strategy, and of the geography of Western Asia, to suppose that Nebuchadnezzar could make an expedition into Palestine, while Carchemish, as Jeremiah possibly implies, was in the hands of the Egyptians.

This is a plausible argument, and a very ingenious one. It assumes that the author of Daniel was ac-

quainted with the canonical books of Jeremiah, Kings, and Chronicles,[1] and that these books, as far as they affect this subject, had the same text that we now find in them; and on the basis of this assumption asserts that he was either not honest enough or not intelligent enough to use his sources of information correctly. To be more explicit, this argument assumes that the pseudo-Daniel had before him Jeremiah xxv, in which the latter is said to speak "of the Chaldeans in a manner which appears distinctly to imply that their arms had not yet been seen in Judah" before the fourth year of Jehoiakim; nevertheless he was either not bright enough or not open-minded enough to see this distinct implication, but must forsooth say that Nebuchadnezzar had been in Palestine in the third year of Jehoiakim. Again, this pseudo-Daniel had before him Jeremiah xlvi, 2, in which the defeat of the army of Pharaoh-Necho in the fourth year of Jehoiakim is mentioned,—a defeat before which, say the critics, there could be no question of Nebuchadnezzar's invading Palestine; and yet, he wilfully says that Nebuchadnezzar did invade Palestine in the third year of this same Jehoiakim. He had before him 2 Chron. xxxvi, 5, which implies that Nebuchadnezzar carried Jehoiakim and a part of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon in the eleventh year of Jehoiakim's reign, and yet he states that this seizure of these vessels of the house of

[1] Of course, from the point of view of those who believe that Daniel was written in the sixth century B. C., it is impossible that Daniel could have been acquainted with either Kings or Chronicles in their present form; though he may have known their sources. The phrase "in the books," occurring in chapter ix, 2, would seem to imply that he had read the work of Jeremiah. If Daniel is authentic, his account of the events of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar must be accepted as genuine and original, and as of equal authority and trustworthiness with the records of Jeremiah, Kings, and Chronicles.

the Lord was in Jehoiakim's third year; because, forsooth, he had read in the book of Kings that Jehoiakim had served Nebuchadnezzar three years before he rebelled against him.

Can anyone really suppose that the author of Daniel, provided he had no other data than those provided by the other biblical books, can have been so dull as not to know that Jehoiakim, a king enthroned by Pharaoh-Necho (2 Kings xxiii, 34), can not have served Nebuchadnezzar for *three* years before the latter made his first expedition against Jerusalem, inasmuch as it is plainly stated by Jeremiah (xxv, 1) and implied in 2 Kings xxv, 8, that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar was the fourth year of Jehoiakim? Yet the critics do make this supposition. They do suppose that the author of Daniel, having before him, as they say, the books of Kings, Chronicles, and Jeremiah, did nevertheless contradict all these earlier accounts, did fail to perceive their distinct implications, and did make improbable and even absurd statements as to the events already recorded in their, to him, well-known sources. Lest injustice should seem to be done to these critics of the authenticity of Daniel, their objections will now be cited *verbatim et seriatim;* and their assumptions will be discussed in the hope of showing that there is not one of them that has a real foundation of fact.

Objections Stated

Canon Driver says:

That Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem and carried away captive some of the sacred vessels in the *third* year of Jehoiakim (Dan. i, 1 f.) though it cannot, strictly speak-

ing, be disproved, is highly improbable, because, Jeremiah *in the following year* (c. 25 &c.; see v. 1) speaks of the Chaldeans in a manner which appears distinctly to imply that their arms had not yet been seen in Judah.[1]

Prof. Cornill says:

Daniel's fixing the carrying away into captivity in the third year of Jehoiakim (Dan. i, 1) contradicts all contemporaneous accounts and can only be explained as due to a combination of 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6, 7, with an erroneous interpretation of 2 Kings xxiv, 1.[2]

Prof. Bevan says:

It was not till after the defeat of the Egyptian army at Carchemish on the Euphrates in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (Jer. xlvi, 2) that there could be any question of Nebuchadnezzar's invading Palestine, where for some years the Egyptians had enjoyed undisputed supremacy.[3]

Assumptions Involved

Combining these statements, we find that the carrying away into captivity (especially "of some of the vessels of the house of the Lord") in the third year of Jehoiakim is assumed to have been highly improbable:

I. Because Daniel speaks of Nebuchadnezzar as going up against Jerusalem in Jehoiakim's third year and Jeremiah implies that he did not go up before the fourth year of Jehoiakim.

II. Because of the manner in which Jeremiah in the following year speaks of the Chaldeans.

III. Because of the erroneous interpretation on the

[1] LOT p. 408.
[2] *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*, p. 334.
[3] *The book of Daniel*, p. 16.

part of the writer of Daniel of 2 Kings xxiv, 1, combined with 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6, 7.

IV. Because Nebuchadnezzar is said in Jeremiah xlvi, 2, to have defeated the Egyptians at Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim; and it is not until after this battle "that there could be any question of Nebuchadnezzar's invading Palestine."

V. Because "the Egyptians had enjoyed undisputed supremacy" in Palestine for some years before the battle of Carchemish.

VI. Because it contradicts all contemporaneous accounts.

Before entering upon the discussion of these assumptions, it may be best to state and consider what is actually said in Daniel about what Nebuchadnezzar effected by this expedition. The writer of Daniel says (Dan. i, 2) that the king of Babylon carried part of the vessels of the house of God into the land of Shinar to the house of his god and (Dan. i, 3, 4) that certain of the children of Israel, even of the king's seed, and of the princes, were taken to the king's palace to be taught the learning and tongue of the Chaldeans. It is possible, also, that the writer means that Jehoiakim was taken to Babylon. In this case, there are three points to be considered; first, is it likely that Jehoiakim was taken to Babylon in his third year; secondly, is it likely that some of the vessels of the house of the Lord were taken to Babylon at this time; and thirdly, is it likely that some of the nobility and of the royal family of Judah were taken to reside in the king's palace, and that while there they were treated as the king's protégés?

As to the first of these points, it is clear that the kings of Jehoiakim's time were in the habit of carrying off the kings of Judah into captivity. In 2 Kings xxiii,

33, 34, it is said that Pharaoh-Necho put Jehoahaz, king of Judah, in bonds at Riblah and afterwards carried him away and that he came to Egypt and died there. In 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6, we read that Nebuchadnezzar bound Jehoiakim in fetters to carry him to Babylon. In 2 Chron. xxxvi, 10, it is said, that Nebuchadnezzar sent and brought Jehoiachin to Babylon. According to 2 Kings xxiv, 12, this was in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (597–8 B. C.). In this captivity Jehoiachin was kept for thirty-seven years until Evil-Merodach released him on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of the year that he began to reign, that is, in the spring of 561 B. C.[1] In 2 Kings xxv, 7, we see that Zedekiah was bound with fetters of brass and carried by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon. In Jeremiah lii, 11, we learn that he put him in prison, also, and kept him there till the day of his death. In 2 Chron. xxxiii, 11, 13, it is said that the king of Assyria (probably Esarhaddon) took Manasseh, king of Judah, and bound him with fetters and carried him to Babylon; where Manasseh prayed unto the Lord, who brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom.

Of course, it will be objected, that if Daniel is correct in his date, it is scarcely probable that Jehoiakim was taken to Babylon in his third year and restored and that he was taken captive to Babylon again in his eleventh year. This improbability, however, is more than offset by the certainty that Zedekiah was twice, at least, in Babylon. For in Jer. li, 59, we learn that in his *fourth* year he went to Babylon, doubtless at the behest of Nebuchadnezzar, his overlord; whereas, in his eleventh year, he was taken thither a second

[1] 2 Kings xxv, 2 f.

time, after he had been captured while endeavoring to escape after the fall of Jerusalem.

As to the second point, that some of the vessels of the house of the Lord were taken to Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim, there is no good reason for doubting the statement of Daniel. To be sure, Jeremiah enumerates a large number of vessels of the house of the Lord that were carried away at the final capture of Jerusalem[1]; but according to 2 Chron. xxxvi, Nebuchadnezzar is said to have carried away vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon at three different times, once in the eleventh year of Jehoiakim (v. 7), once a few months later when he carried away Jehoiachin (v. 10), and finally at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem (v. 18). Moreover, the writer of 2 Kings says (xxiv, 13) that the king of Babylon, at the time of Jehoiachin's captivity, cut in pieces all the vessels of gold which Solomon had made in the temple of the Lord. All of these statements are easily reconcilable, if we suppose that Nebuchadnezzar at four different times carried away part of the vessels, the last part being carried away at the time of the final capture of Jerusalem in Zedekiah's eleventh year.

As to the third of these points, that some of the nobility and of the royal family of Judah were taken to reside in the king's palace and that while there they were treated as the king's protégés we have an abundance of analogies from ancient records to prove that this may well have been true in Jehoiakim's third year, as the writer of Daniel declares.

Thus, in the Scriptures themselves, it is said in 2 Kings xxiv, 14, 15, that Nebuchadnezzar carried away to Babylon not merely Jehoiachin and his wives, but his

[1] Lii, 17–23; *cf.* 2 Kings xxv, 13–17.

officers (*sarisim*) and princes (*sarim*) and the mighty of the land. In like manner, in Dan. i, 1–3, it is implied that Jehoiakim was carried to Babylon along with some of the princes (here called *partumim*) and of the king's seed.

This custom was common, also, among the Assyrian kings. Thus, Tiglath-Pileser I took as hostages from Shadianteru, king of Urartinash, his sons and family.[1] Asurnaṣirabal and Shalmaneser III, also, continued the custom.[2] Shalusunu of Harruna and his sons were pardoned by Shalmaneser III, and sent back to their land. Esarhaddon granted favor to Laili, king of Jadi, and offered him friendship, gave him back his goods and the land of Bazi.[3] Ashurbanipal showed favor to Necho, king of Memphis, made treaties (*ade*) with him, clothed him with particolored garments and a golden band, put rings of gold on his fingers, and gave him an iron sword adorned with gold with the king's name upon it, presented him with wagons and horses, and established him and his son Nabushezibanni in the sovereignty of Sais.[4]

So among the Persian kings may be noted the treatment of Astyages, Crœsus, and Nabunaid by Cyrus; of Antiochus son of Miltiades and of Democedes the Crotonan physician, by Darius; and of Themistocles and Alcibiades by later kings.

Having thus reviewed what Daniel himself has to say with regard to what Nebuchadnezzar carried away captive in the third year of Jehoiakim and shown that what he says harmonizes with what we know from the documentary evidence provided by the monuments,

[1] KB i, 20. See also pages 22, 32, 34, 36.
[2] KB i, pp. 72, 88, 104, 106, 112, 144, 148.
[3] *Id.*, ii, 132.
[4] KB ii, 167. See also pp. 170, 172, 178, 184, 190, 208, 222.

we are now prepared to consider the assumptions mentioned above.

I. It is said, that Daniel seems to confound the third year of Jehoiakim with the fourth year spoken of by Jeremiah in chapter xxv, 1.

In this objection, it is assumed, that the fourth year of Jehoiakim of which Jeremiah speaks must be different from the third year of which Daniel speaks. In view of the testimony of the Babylonian and Egyptian monuments, it is impossible longer to uphold this assumption. Among the Babylonians in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the remainder of the last year of a king was not called the "first year" of his successor, but "the year of the beginning of his reign." The *first year* began on the first of Nisan following the death of his predecessor. For example, the last dated tablet of Nebuchadnezzar to which I have had access, is dated in the forty-third year, fourth month, twenty-seventh day. The earliest from the reign of Evil-Merodach is dated in the sixth month, the fourth day of *the year of the beginning of the reign* of Evil-Merodach.[1] The next earliest is dated on the 26th day of the second month[2] and there is one from the 22nd day of the third month of the same year.[3] It is therefore evident that the forty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar is the same as *the year of the beginning of the reign* of Evil-Merodach; and the latter's first year is what would be called by many his second year.

The Egyptians, however, pursued a different method of reckoning. "The years of the kings' reigns in the twenty-sixth dynasty (of Egypt) began on New Year's day"; for "it is evident that the fraction of [Psamtik

[1] See for this usage in the Scriptures, 2 K. xxv, 27.

[2] VSD vi, 55.

[3] *Id.*, vi, 56.

the First's] incomplete (55th) year was, after his death, included in the first year of his successor, Necho."[1] As Petrie remarks, "The absence of odd months and days from the lengths of the reign shows that the dates are in fixed months of the year, and that the years were counted from New Year's day."[2] To quote Wilcken,[3] a king's "second year began with the first New Year's day which he passed on the throne, so that the last broken year of his predecessor was counted as his first."

Owing to these two methods of reckoning, it is obvious that the third year of a king according to the Babylonian calendar would be his fourth according to the Egyptian. Among the Hebrews, it is generally agreed, that the Egyptian method of reckoning the years of a king was employed.[4]

II. The expedition of Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of Jehoiakim is said to be improbable, because "of the way in which Jeremiah in the following year speaks of the Chaldeans." Dr. Driver, in this statement, refers to the 25th chapter of Jeremiah, especially to the first verse. The American Revision gives the chapter as follows:[5]

(1) The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah (the same was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon), (2) which Jeremiah the prophet spake unto all the people of Judah, and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying: (3) From the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah, even unto

[1] Breasted, *History of Egypt*, vol. iv, sec. 975.

[2] *History of Egypt*, iii, 339.

[3] *Greichische Ostraka*, i, 783.

[4] Reginald Stuart Poole in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, i, 439.

[5] We cite as far as the end of verse 33.

this day, these three and twenty years, the word of Jehovah hath come unto me, and I have spoken unto you, rising up early and speaking; but ye have not hearkened. (4) And Jehovah hath sent unto you all his servants the prophets, rising up early and sending them (but ye have not hearkened, nor inclined your ear to hear), (5) saying, Return ye now every one from his evil way, and from the evil of your doings, and dwell in the land that Jehovah hath given unto you and to your fathers, from of old and even for evermore; (6) and go not after other gods to serve them and to worship them, and provoke me not to anger with the work of your hands; and I will do you no hurt. (7) Yet ye have not hearkened unto me, saith Jehovah; that ye may provoke me to anger with the work of your hands to your own hurt. (8) Therefore thus saith Jehovah of hosts: Because ye have not heard my words, (9) behold, I will send and take all the families of the north, saith Jehovah, and I will send unto Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant, and will bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these nations round about; and I will utterly destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and a hissing, and perpetual desolations. (10) Moreover I will take from them the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones, and the light of the lamp. (11) And this whole land shall be a desolation, and as astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years.

(12) And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith Jehovah, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans; and I will make it desolate forever. (13) And I will bring upon that land all my words which I have pronounced against it, even all that is written in this book, which Jeremiah hath prophesied against all the nations. (14) For many nations and great kings shall make bondmen of them, even of them; and I will recompense

them according to their deeds, and according to the work of their hands.

(15) For thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel, unto me: Take this cup of the wine of wrath at my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it. (16) And they shall drink, and reel to and fro, and be mad, because of the sword that I will send among them. (17) Then took I the cup at Jehovah's hand and made all the nations to drink, unto whom Jehovah had sent me: (18) to wit, Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah, and the kings thereof, and the princes thereof, to make them a desolation, an astonishment, a hissing, and a curse as it is this day; (19) Pharaoh king of Egypt, and his servants, and his princes, and all his people; (20) and all the mingled people, and all the kings of the land of Uz, and all the kings of the land of the Philistines, and Ashkelon, and Gaza, and Ekron, and the remnant of Ashdod; (21) Edom, and Moab, and the children of Ammon; (22) and all the kings of Tyre, and all the kings of Sidon, and the kings of the isle which is beyond the sea; (23) Dedan, and Tema, and Buz, and all that have the corners of their hair cut off; (24) and all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the wilderness; (25) and all the kings of Zimri, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of the Medes; (26) and all the kings of the north, far and near, one with another; and all the kingdoms of the world, which are upon the face of the earth: and the king of Sheshach shall drink after them.

(27) And thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith Jehovah of Hosts, the God of Israel: Drink ye, and be drunken, and spew, and fall, and rise no more, because of the sword which I will send among you. (28) And it shall be, if they refuse to take the cup at thy hand to drink, then shalt thou say unto them, Thus saith Jehovah of Hosts: Ye shall surely drink. (29) For, lo, I begin to work evil at the city which is called by my name; and should ye be utterly unpunished? Ye shall not be unpunished; for I will call

for the sword upon all the inhabitants of the earth, saith Jehovah of Hosts.

(30) Therefore prophesy thou against them all these words, and say unto them, Jehovah will roar from on high, and utter his voice from his holy habitation; he will mightily roar against his fold; he will give a shout, as they that tread the grapes, against all the inhabitants of the earth. (31) A noise shall come even to the end of the earth; for Jehovah hath a controversy with the nations; he will enter into judgment with all flesh: as for the wicked, he will give them to the sword, saith Jehovah.

(32) Thus saith Jehovah of Hosts, Behold, evil shall go forth from nation to nation, and a great tempest shall be raised up from the uttermost parts of the earth. (33) And the slain of Jehovah shall be at that day from one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; they shall not be lamented, neither gathered, nor buried; they shall be dung upon the face of the ground.

It will be noted by the reader:

First, that nothing is said here about the *third* year of Jehoiakim.

Secondly, that nothing is said about an expedition in the fourth year.

Thirdly, that it is said simply, that the word of the Lord came unto Jeremiah in the fourth year.

Fourthly, that the prophecy refers to events still future with reference to the fourth year of Jehoiakim. See verses 9–33.

Fifthly, that the phrase in the eighteenth verse, "as it is this day," implies that Judah had been already conquered and devastated.

Lastly, that the failure to mention Nebuchadnezzar's expedition in the third year, or his overlordship in the fourth year, is no more striking than his failure to men-

tion Necho. The failure to mention Necho is especially noteworthy, if he were still overlord of Judah when this prophecy was made.

III. The statement that there was an expedition in the third year of Jehoiakim is said to arise from an erroneous interpretation on the part of the writer of Daniel of 2 Kings xxiv, 1, combined with 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6, 7. The verse from Kings reads as follows:

> In his days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years: then he turned and rebelled against him [*i. e.*, rebelled *again* against him]. (2 Kings xxiv, 1.)

The verses from Chronicles read thus:

> (6) Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon. (7) Nebuchadnezzar also carried off the vessels of the house of Jehovah to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon. (2 Chron. xxxvi, 6, 7.)

Comparing these verses with Daniel i, 1, it will be remarked:

First, that neither Kings nor Chronicles says one word about the year of the expedition, nor

Secondly, whether Nebuchadnezzar came up once, or twice, or several times,

Thirdly, that Daniel does not say anything about the putting of Jehoiakim in chains, nor

Fourthly, about the carrying of Jehoiakim to Babylon, but

Fifthly, that both Daniel and Chronicles do state that Nebuchadnezzar brought a part of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon. These statements harmonize perfectly with each other, and, also, with

2 Kings xxv, 13–17, which mentions in detail the vessels, pillars, etc., of the house of the Lord which were carried to Babylon at the time of the final capture of Jerusalem.

Sixthly, there is no reason, therefore, for supposing that the writer of Daniel got his information from either Kings or Chronicles, much less that he made an "erroneous interpretation" of them. The statements of the three books are entirely harmonious. There is absolutely no error in Daniel's narrative, so far as can be seen from a comparison of his account with the accounts in Kings and Chronicles. On this matter, the average reader is just as well able to judge as the most learned professor in Christendom. There is here no dispute about texts or versions. The learned counsel for the prosecution asserts that the writer of Daniel got his information from Kings and Chronicles, and that he did not know enough to take it straight, and presumes that the ignorant jury, his credulous readers, will not be able to perceive that his assertion is not proof!

IV. It is said to be improbable that Nebuchadnezzar advanced upon Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim, because in Jeremiah xlvi, 2, he is said to have captured Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. This statement is based on the assumption that Nebuchadnezzar would scarcely have dared to advance on Jerusalem, leaving a strong garrison of Egyptians entrenched in his rear and at such a strategic point as Carchemish, which commanded the Euphrates and the great routes of possible retreat from Palestine by way of Palmyra and by way of the Orontes valley.

This argument involves several assumptions:

It is an assumption to say that Pharaoh-Necho ever conquered Carchemish. In 2 Kings xxiii, 29, it is said that Pharaoh-Necho went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates; and that King Josiah went against him and was slain by him at Megiddo. In 2 Chron. xxxv, 20, it is said that "Necho king of Egypt went up to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates: and Josiah went out against him" "in the valley of Megiddo" (xxxv. 22), and in the battle, Josiah was so wounded that he died shortly after in Jerusalem (xxxv, 23, 24). We are not informed whether Necho reached Carchemish in this campaign, much less that he captured it. Our only evidence on the subject is that he went as far as Riblah in the land of Hamath,[1] which was in the valley of the Orontes on the way to the Euphrates on whose left bank Carchemish was situated. Notice, it is not affirmed that he did not reach the Euphrates, nor that he did not capture Carchemish; but merely that no texts that we have assert that he did, or to be more precise, that he reached it *in this campaign*. We are informed merely that he set out for the Euphrates and Carchemish; but Josiah interfered with his plans, and we are left to conjecture as to whether he proceeded farther than Riblah. Remember, that no contemporaneous source outside the Scripture says anything about an expedition of Necho against Assyria, nor of his ever having come to Carchemish.

But are we not told in Jeremiah xlvi, 2, "concerning the army of Pharaoh-Necho king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim"? True. But the assumption here is,

[1] 2 Kings xxiii, 33.

that because the army was there in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, it must have arrived there in or before his third year, when Daniel says that Nebuchadnezzar came to Jerusalem. Notice, it is not affirmed that Necho, or his army at least, did not reach the Euphrates, or that it did not capture Carchemish, in the first year, or in the second year, or in the third year of Jehoiakim, but simply, that it is an assumption, an inference, that he did. There is no direct evidence, no explicit statement, of any contemporaneous author, that Necho himself ever saw the Euphrates; nor that his army ever occupied Carchemish.

But does it not say that Necho "went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates"? To be sure; but even Von Lengerke admits that the Hebrew verb must be taken here as meaning "started to go up."[1] If, however, this be not admitted, then the sentence which follows[2] can only be interpreted as meaning, that Josiah came out to meet Necho on his way back from Carchemish on the Euphrates; or the verb would have to be rendered by a pluperfect, which possibility, all critics would instantly reject.

Again, someone may say, does not the text of Jeremiah xlvi, 2, clearly state, that Nebuchadnezzar smote the army of Pharaoh-Necho by the river Euphrates *in* Carchemish? Yes. The English authorized version says so.[3] But the Hebrew may just as well be rendered

[1] *Das Buch Daniel*, p. 14.

[2] Introduced as it is in Hebrew by Wau converso-consecutive.

[3] Jeremiah xlvi, 1, 2, reads as follows: "The word of the Lord which came to Jeremiah the prophet against the Gentiles; against Egypt, against the army of Pharaoh-Necho king of Egypt, which was by [Heb. *'al*] the river Euphrates, in [Heb. *b'*] Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah.

at or *by* Carchemish; in which case, it is equally probable that the Egyptians were attacked while besieging the city, as while defending it. Granting, however, that the Egyptians had possession of Carchemish at the time of the battle, it does not follow that they had possession of it since the first year of Jehoiakim. It is certainly possible, that they may have captured it, or that it may have voluntarily thrown open its gates to them, between the time when Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim and the time when the battle was fought in his fourth year. The tablets show that Nabopolassar was still reigning in the second month of his twenty-first year and that Nebuchadnezzar was certainly king in the fourth month of the same year. The last tablet from the reign of Nabopolassar thus far published is dated in the 2d month of the last year of his reign. The first of Nebuchadnezzar is dated on the 14th day of the 4th month of the same year. When Nebuchadnezzar had been called back so suddenly to Babylon by the death of his father, what more likely than that Necho should have seized upon this opportunity to overrun the whole country as far as the Euphrates and that Carchemish should have surrendered to him? At least, no one can deny that this may have happened. More arduous and lengthy campaigns have been made hundreds of times. A few weeks are all that would be necessary to march from Pelusium, or Gaza, to Carchemish.

Finally, however, even granting that Pharaoh-Necho or his army reached the Euphrates in the first year of Jehoiakim, and that Carchemish was captured, or occupied peaceably, by the Egyptians before the third year of Jehoiakim, what follows? That Nebuchadnezzar did not besiege Jerusalem in the third year of

Jehoiakim, because he would not have dared, forsooth, to leave a hostile fortress in his rear? Certainly not. Such things are occurring all the time in modern warfare and have occurred in countless campaigns since the beginning of human history. Witness in our lifetime Strassbourg and Port Arthur and Adrianople and Antwerp. Witness Genoa and other Italian fortresses during Napoleon's campaigns in Italy. Witness Scipio's carrying the war into Africa, while Hannibal was still within striking distance of Rome. Witness Nebuchadnezzar's own campaign against Jerusalem, while Tyre was still unconquered in his rear. It is perfectly obvious that if Nebuchadnezzar could conquer Palestine and Syria, it would be only a question of time when Carchemish and all the other cities held by Egyptian garrisons must fall, as Danzig fell, and had to fall, when Napoleon could not make head against the allied troops and come to its relief. For it is not likely—at least we have no evidence—that either Babylon, or the line of Nebuchadnezzar's communication with Babylon, was in any danger, or can have been in any danger from the armies of Egypt then present in Syria. For a hundred years, the Egyptians had met the Assyrian armies on many a field and had been repeatedly defeated, and the land of Egypt had many times been conquered by her more warlike foes. Nebuchadnezzar's armies were composed largely of the same materials as those of his predecessors of Nineveh, and succeeded to their renown and military superiority. He may well have risked much in his consciousness of strength. It must be remembered also that Carchemish was not on the most direct line of communication between Jerusalem and Babylon. The route from Jerusalem to Babylon by way of Damascus and

Palmyra crossed the Euphrates about 250 miles below Carchemish, at a place called Thapsacus where there is a shallow ford often only eighteen inches deep. Here is where the ten thousand crossed. Here is where Alexander crossed (Arr., iii, 7). As long as the Babylonians held control of this ford and of Palmyra and Damascus, their line of communication with Palestine through the desert would be safe. Necho's only possible plans must have been either to fight and conquer Nebuchadnezzar himself in Palestine; or to break his line of communication at Damascus by an army acting from Hamath or Tyre, or at Thapsacus by an army acting from Carchemish. In either of these cases, the triumph of the Egyptians must at best have been but temporary, unless they had been powerful enough to overcome Nebuchadnezzar's army, and the army of his father Nabopolassar, in the field.

V. It is asserted, that the Egyptians had enjoyed undisputed supremacy in Palestine for some years before the battle of Carchemish.

The purpose of this assertion is to show that the statement of Daniel i, 1, that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim is false, inasmuch as the battle of Carchemish was in the fourth year of the latter. No proofs are given in support of this assertion; and we claim, that it is a pure assumption based upon insufficient evidence, and a begging of the whole question at issue.

For, in the first place, the records of Egypt give us no ground for such a statement. Prof. Breasted,[1] gives us only two Egyptian documents bearing on the reign of Necho, neither of which so much as mentions Palestine. The Babylonian documents give us no informa-

[1] *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. iv, pages 498, 499.

tion upon the subject. The only authorities regarding the Palestinian expeditions and relations of Necho given by Prof. Petrie in his *History of Egypt* are Herodotus and the Bible and the fragment of an Egyptian monument found at Sidon.[1] All that Herodotus has to say upon Necho's connection with Palestine is as follows: "Necho having come to an engagement with the Syrians on land at Magdolus, conquered them, and after the battle took Cadytis, which is a large city in Syria. Afterward, having reigned sixteen years in all, he died and left the kingdom to his son Psammis."[2]

The biblical sources of information upon this matter are extremely meager. Jeremiah mentions Necho but once—namely, in xlvi, 2, which reads in the *American Standard Edition;* "Of Egypt: concerning the army of Pharaoh-Necho king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in [Heb. *b'*] Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah." It is possible, also that Jeremiah refers to the period before Jehoiakim's fourth year in xlvii, 1, which reads: "The word of Jehovah that came to Jeremiah the prophet concerning the Philistines, before that Pharaoh smote Gaza." The Egyptian fragment from Sidon proves merely that Necho at some time in his reign held possession of that city.

It seems clear then that we are fully justified in asserting, that there is no sufficient reason for assuming that there is anything improbable in the statements of the book of Daniel about the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim.

VI. It is said by the critics that the carrying

[1] See vol. iii, 336.

[2] Bk. II, 159.

away of Judah into captivity in the third year of Jehoiakim is highly improbable because "it contradicts all contemporaneous accounts."

Inasmuch as there are no contemporaneous documents known, which say one word about the movements of either Nebuchadnezzar, or Jehoiakim, in the *third* year of the latter king, we may safely rule this objection out of court. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that whatever his creed, or learning, or critical acumen, or insight, the *ipse dixits*, the mere assertions, of any man with regard to the movements of the kings of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, are worthy of absolutely no consideration whatsoever, insofar as they are unsupported by evidence. What any man thinks about the matter is opinion, not evidence. Necho, king of Egypt, and all the records of Egypt are silent about the third year of Jehoiakim. Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar, kings of Babylon, and the Babylonian documents of a private as well as of a public character, are silent about it. The biblical books of Kings, Chronicles, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, are silent with regard to it. Berosus, the Babylonian historian, and Josephus, the Jewish historian, who claim to have had access to contemporaneous documents, support the statement that Nebuchadnezzar had made an expedition across the Euphrates a short time before his father Nabopolassar died; that is, either in the third or fourth year of Jehoiakim. The writer of Dan. i, 1, declares that Nebuchadnezzar did make an expedition against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim. As to this point, the writer of the book of Daniel, at whatever time it was written, would probably know more than we do to-day; for *we know nothing*. No evidence proves nothing. This attack on the veracity of the writer of the book of Daniel

should be ruled out until some evidence is forthcoming to show that he did not come up against Jerusalem during this third year of Jehoiakim.

Conclusion

So that, in concluding the discussion of the objections to Daniel on the ground of the date given in chapter i, 1, let us say that to harmonize perfectly the apparent anachronisms of Daniel i, 1, and Jeremiah xxv, 1, we have only to suppose that Jeremiah writing in Palestine used the manner of reckoning common in that country, and that Daniel writing in Babylon used the method there employed; or to assume that there were two distinct expeditions, one in the 3rd and one in the 4th year of Jehoiakim.

CHAPTER V

THE USE OF THE WORD "KING"

LET me but define the terms and I shall win in almost any argument. Let me use my terms in one sense while my opponent uses the same terms in another sense, and we shall probably never agree. The importance of closely defining the use of terms and using these terms in the sense defined is commonly recognized in the spheres of philosophy, theology, grammar, law, mathematics, in every department of natural science and in every kind of rational discussion. Is man immortal? That depends on how you define immortality. Certainly, his material body is not. Are there three persons in the Trinity? That depends on your definition of person. Is a corporation, an animal, or a plant, a person? That again depends on a definition.

But the definition of a term in its present uses may differ from the definition of the term in its former, or original use. Thus the word *person* originally meant "a mask for actors." Later, it meant a "part acted on the stage." Then we have its theological, legal, grammatical, and biological uses, all strictly defined. Last of all, there are its common uses to denote an individual human being, or even "the body of a human being, or its characteristic appearance or condition."

From the present uses of the word person in English, we learn: First, that it is never used in the sense of its

Latin etymon; secondly, that in the sense of "a part acted on the stage," it has become obsolete; and thirdly, that it has several different uses in common speech and at least four different connotations in as many different sciences. It may be remarked, further, that in no other language, ancient or modern, do we find the word used in just these senses, nor any other single word exactly corresponding to it. To confirm this statement, it is only necessary to turn up an English-Latin, English-French, English-German, or English-what-you-will dictionary.

It will thus be seen that before making assertions based upon the meanings of the word person in an English work that has been translated from some foreign tongue, it would be best to look up the uses of the term in the original, in order to see if the word there found connotes exactly what person connotes in English. The question of primary importance here is, whether the word translated by person meant the same in the original language that person means in ours. And to find this out, it is not enough to know merely the meaning of the word person in English at the time that the translation was made; but, also, the meaning of the corresponding word in the original document at the time when it was written. If, at the time when the translation is made, there is not in the language into which the translation is made, a word corresponding exactly to the meaning of the original, one of three things must be done: either a new word must be coined, or a new meaning must be given to an old word, or the word of the original must be adopted into the translation.

Many of the ambiguities of the Scriptures arise from this almost insurmountable difficulty in making

a correct translation from the original text. To coin new words, or to take over a word from the original, is often to make the version unintelligible to the ordinary reader for whom the version is primarily prepared; while, to use an old word in a new meaning is to lay the reader open to a misunderstanding of the true sense of a passage. This is the fundamental reason why all appeals in matters of biblical doctrine should be made to the original languages of the Scripture. This is the true and sufficient reason why all discussion among scholars as to the meaning of disputed passages should be based upon the *ipsissima verba*. This is a firm and ever existing ground for the insistence of the church, that her teachers shall be thoroughly conversant with the original languages of the Word of God. Translations must err, because no given language has terms for expressing thought which exactly correspond to the terminology of another.

The above discussion will make plain to the lay mind, why it has been thought necessary to devote a large part of this volume to a consideration of the connotations of terms. It is because in the sphere of history as well as in that of theology, philosophy, and science, the divergencies of our authorities have arisen largely from difficulties and ambiguities arising from, and inherent in, the very nature of language, and especially from the inadequacy of one language to express with exactness the ideas involved in the vocables of another. This is a sufficient reason for devoting so much effort to the elucidation of the terms on whose correct definition depends in large measure the issue of the matters in debate.

The first words to be considered are the words for "king," because these words constitute the sub-

stance of many of the objections against the historicity of the book of Daniel. What is the meaning of the word "king"? Can Nebuchadnezzar have been called "king of Babylon" before the decease of his father Nabopolassar, king of Babylon? May Darius have been king at the same time that Cyrus was king? What is the meaning of the word "kingdom"? May Nabunaid, Belshazzar, and Cyrus, may Darius the Mede and Cyrus, the Persian, have had "the kingdom" at the same time? Upon our answer to these questions will depend largely our attitude to the question of the historicity of the book of Daniel.

That I may not seem to be beating a man of straw, I shall now revert in the discussion of this matter to my ordinary method of procedure, stating and discussing the various objections, and assumptions involved in them, in so far as they are connected with the definition of the words for king, deferring the discussion of the words for kingdom to the second volume which will be concerned solely with the language of Daniel. First of all I shall consider the case of Nebuchadnezzar.

Objection Stated

Prof. Bertholdt makes the following objection to the possibility of Nebuchadnezzar's having been called king as early as the third year of Jehoiakim, that is, a year before the death of his father Nabopolassar:

> Jeremiah xxv, (1) says, that Nebuchadnezzar ascended the throne in Babylon in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. How then is it possible, that according to the composer of this biographical sketch of Daniel, the *King* Nebuchadnezzar could already in the third year of Jehoiakim have besieged and taken Jerusalem?[1]

[1] Bertholdt's *Daniel*, p. 169.

That is, Nebuchadnezzar could not have been called "king of Babylon" in describing what he did in the third year of Jehoiakim, since he did not as a matter of fact become king until the latter's fourth year. Hence, only someone ignorant of this fact could possibly have written Daniel i, 1. As a man carried away by Nebuchadnezzar and living at Nebuchadnezzar's court cannot have been ignorant of such a simple matter, the mis-statement cannot possibly have been penned by the Daniel of tradition or by a contemporary of his, unless, forsooth, he had wished to misrepresent the facts.

Assumptions Involved

It will be noted, that this objection is valid only when we make one or more of the following assumptions in regard to the use of the word "king":

1. That one cannot truthfully refer to a man as king, unless he was reigning at the time referred to.
2. That a man related to a king may not have been called king for the sake of distinction or honor.
3. That the word for king as used by Daniel must have had the same meaning, the same connotation that we would assign to it to-day.

Answer to the Objection

All of the assumptions just stated must be shown to be true, before we will admit that it is a valid objection to the book of Daniel that the author calls Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon before the decease of his father Nabopolassar. If, however, any one of these assumptions be false, the critics must admit that Nebuchadnezzar may have been called king before he actu-

ally ascended the throne, either proleptically, or for distinction or honor, or in some sense different from that in which he was king after the decease of his father.

Accordingly, we shall attempt to show the invalidity of these assumptions, following the order given above.

I. (1) First, then, it is assumed, that it is a mistake of Daniel to have called Nebuchadnezzar "king of Babylon" when referring to an act which he performed before he had actually become king. We might dismiss the objection as puerile, were it not apparently made in all seriousness. Taking the matter up seriously, then, let us ask the question what would an author of the Book of Daniel writing in 535 B. C., or thereabout, have desired his readers to understand with regard to the man who in the third year of Jehoiakim led the expedition against Jerusalem. Obviously, only so much as he deemed necessary to the reader's understanding of the story of Daniel and his three companions, which it was his purpose to relate. He attains this end by telling us that this man besieged Jerusalem and secured, perhaps in order to insure his departure without capturing the city, a number of captives of the better sort, probably as hostages; and, as a ransom, a part of the vessels of the house of the Lord. Captives and vessels were both brought to Babylon, the former to serve as eunuchs in the palace, the latter to be used in the service of the gods.

Notice, that all of these preliminary statements are necessary to an understanding of the story that follows. They introduce us to the *dramatis personæ* of the story. Now, it is certain, that the tale of *dramatis personæ* would not be complete if the author omitted the name of the hero or villain, who was none other than Nebu-

chadnezzar, the King of Babylon. It is not Nebuchadnezzar, the man, nor the general, nor the son of the king of Babylon, nor the crown prince, that is the principal personage of the book, but Nebuchadnezzar the king, the king of great Babylon which he boasted to have built,—the king, proud, haughty, defiant, putting his claims before those of God and oppressing his true worshipers. Now, the writer might have said, to be sure, that in the third year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar, while acting as general for his father Nabopolassar, came up against Jerusalem and besieged it and was given hostages and a ransom to induce him to depart without capturing the city; that he did thus depart, having been informed about that time that his father was dead and that he had in consequence become king of Babylon *de jure;* that he returned to Babylon to assert his claims to be king *de facto,* bringing, or causing to be brought with him the hostages and vessels he had taken; and that he, as king, put the hostages in his palace and the vessels in his temple. This would have been explicit and detailed as to the acts of Nebuchadnezzar; but will anyone say that it is more illuminating as to *who he was?* Writing seventy years after the expedition recorded in Daniel i, 1, and twenty-five years after the death of the general in command of the expedition, the author would naturally suppose that his readers would know whom he meant when he calls him Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon. Just as, to quote Sir Robert Anderson,[1] the newspapers at the time of the unveiling of the statue of Queen Victoria at Kensington Gardens, spoke of the Queen's having once lived in Kensington Palace; whereas she lived there only before she became Queen. So we have lives

[1] *Daniel in the Critics Den*, p. 20.

of the Emperor Augustus, or of the Empress Catherine of Russia, or of President Grant, beginning in each case with an account of what they were and of what they did before they attained the highest titles by which they are now known.

(2) It is assumed, that the phrase "king of X" can be used only of a man who was *de facto* king, when some deed said to have been done by him or to him was accomplished. But who can see any impropriety in the phrase "Jesse begat David the king" in Matthew i, 6? Everyone knows it means "David who afterwards became king." Or who would pronounce it a mistake in 2 Kings xxv, 27, when it is said that Evil-Merodach "did lift up the head of Jehoiachin king of Judah"? Obviously, it means "Jehoiachin who thirty-seven years before had been king of Judah." So, if the writer of the book of Daniel composed his book about 535 B. C., he may very well have called Nebuchadnezzar "king of Babylon" when referring to a time before he had become king, meaning "that Nebuchadnezzar who some time after became king of Babylon," or "whom you, my readers, know as having been king of Babylon."

II. It is assumed that the phrase may not have been used simply for the sake of distinction or honor. But (1) as a title of distinction the phrase "the king" is used in Matthew i, 6, to distinguish the particular David meant. In Daniel i, 2, Jehoiakim is called "king of Judah" to show clearly the particular Jehoiakim that was meant. So, also, Nebuchadnezzar is called, or may be called "king of Babylon" in Daniel i, 1, to distinguish him from any other possible Nebuchadnezzar. In the second century B. C. everyone in Palestine may well have known but one Nebuchadnezzar and the title

would scarcely have been necessary. But at Babylon in the sixth century B. C., there may have been many Nebuchadnezzars. Certainly, in the seventh century there were two Nebuchadnezzars.[1] Besides, a son of Nabunaid was almost certainly so called; for if not, why did the two usurpers, the rebels against Darius Hystaspis mentioned on the Behistun Inscription, assume that name?[2]

(2) The word "king" may have been used to denote the son of the king. It is so used in the Arabic of the Arabian Nights in the story of Taj-el-Molouk, where the prince is twice called "a king, the son of a king," although his father Suleiman was still reigning.[3] In like manner "queen" is frequently used to denote the unmarried daughter of a king, although she was not reigning; just as in England they would say "the Princess Victoria."[4] Antiochus Soter, calls himself "king of the lands," Seleucus his son "king" and Stratonike his wife "queen."[5] In Greek, also, the word for king is used of the son of the king or of anyone sharing in the government.[6]

(3) The word "king" may also have been used to denote the father of a king, although this father may never have actually reigned. How else can we account for the fact, that Nergal-shar-uṣur on the Cylinder inscription at Cambridge calls his father Bel-shum-ishkun "king of Babylon,"[7] whereas on the Ripley

[1] Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, iii, 230.

[2] There are several tablets from Babylon assigned to Nebuchadnezzar III who claimed to be the son of Nabunaid. See Peiser in KB iv, 298–303.

[3] Lane, ii, 336.

[4] Compare the use of "queen" in the Arabian Nights stories of Badoura and Marouf, Lane, ii, 542.

[5] Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achæmeniden*, p. 135.

[6] *Od.*, iii, 394; viii, 290; Xen., *Œc.*, iv, 16.

[7] KB iii, 72.

Cylinder, he calls his father simply "the wise prince, the perfect lord, *guardian* (keeper) of the guards, or watch towers, of E-sag-il and Babylon."[1] Of course, Bel-shum-ishkun may have been a sub-king of Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar, or Evil-Merodach, or even under his own son Nergal-shar-uṣur. Or the title "king" applied to him may have been simply an honorific title of respect. In either case, it illustrates the fact that the title "king" was not confined to the reigning monarch, to the king of kings; and thus, the use of the title as applied to Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel i, 1, to Belshazzar in Daniel vii, 1, and to Darius in Daniel ix, 1, is fully justified by analogy.

It is possible, too, that Darius in the Behistun Inscription uses the word king in this broader sense of his father Hystaspis, and of other ancestors (Col. i, 8); for in the other places where Hystaspis is mentioned he is called simply the father of Darius,[2]—or merely Hystaspis without any further designation.[3] Moreover, Herodotus speaks of Hystaspis as having been in the time of Smerdis the Magian simply the *hyparch*, or governor, of Persia.[4]

III. Finally, it may be remarked that the Hebrew *melek* and the Aramaic *malka*, the words uniformly translated by "king" in the English versions, by *rex* in the Latin Vulgate, by *basileus* in Greek, and by corresponding words in the modern European versions of the Scriptures, are almost certain to be misunderstood by us, because of the arbitrary manner in which we have fixed their connotation. When we think of a king, there comes up before us the image of King

[1] KB, iii, ii, 76, Col. i, l. 11–13. "*Rubu emga idlum gitmalum naṣir maṣṣartim E-sag-il u Babili.*"

[2] So i, 2, 4; ii, 93 et al.

[3] So ii, 94; iii, 2, 3, 4, 7 et al.

[4] Book III, 70

Edward, or King Alfred, of Henry the Fourth, or Louis XIV of France, of Alexander of Macedon, or Rameses king of the Egyptians. Or we think of the king of Greece, or Denmark, or Portugal, in modern times, or of the kings of Israel, Judah, and Moab in ancient times. That is, we think of a ruler of an independent people, or country. Where we have subject peoples, or subordinate countries, we usually call the supreme ruler emperor. Or we call him Kaiser as in Germany, the kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg being second in authority to him. Sometimes the same man is emperor and king at the same time, as in the cases of George V, king of England and emperor of India; or William II, king of Prussia and German Kaiser. As emperor of India, King George has many subject and allied rajahs or kings, of whom he may be called the king of kings, or the lord paramount. As German Kaiser, William II has associated with him kings, grand dukes, dukes, princes, and lesser potentates.

Now, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, and among most of the Semitic races, there was in each case but a single term which might be employed indiscriminately to denote the *ruler* of a city, of a kingdom, or of an empire. In Greek the word *basileus* was employed to denote the ruler of a city such as the kings of Sparta, Argos, and other cities; of countries, great or small, such as Macedon, and Cilicia, and Lydia, and Media, and Egypt; or of the great empires of Esarhaddon, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander. Thus Adrastus was king of the city of Sicyon;[1] Syennesis was king of the subject-state of Cilicia,[2] and Darius was the king of the empire of Persia.[3] In Latin, Rom-

[1] Herod., v, 67. [2] Xen., *Anab.*, i, 2. [3] *Id.*, i, 1.

ulus was king (*rex*) of the city of Rome;[1] Herod was subject-king of Judea;[2] and Pacorus was king of the independent empire of Persia.[3] In Hebrew, the word *melek* was used to denote the ruler of a city, as in Joshua xii, 9–24, where thirty-one kings of cities are mentioned; or of a small country, such as the kings of Aram, Judah, and Israel; or of the kings of kings, such as Esarhaddon, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Darius. In Arabic, a *malik*, or king, ruled over a single city,[4] or over a province, or over an empire.[5]

In Aramaic, the *malka* ruled over a city,[6] or a small country, as the kings of Samal[7] or a subject nation, as the king of Urha;[8] or an empire, as the rulers of the Greek Empire and of Persia.[9] Finally, in Assyrian, the word for king was used to denote the kings of cities, as "Luli king of the city of Sidon";[10] the kings of subject provinces, as in the long list of subject kings, governors, and prefects, of the land of Egypt in the Rassam Cylinder of Ashurbanipal;[11] and the king of kings, as in the oft-recurring phrase "so and so, king of nations, king of Assyria, etc."

From the above, it will be seen that a "king" might

[1] Livy, Bk. I. [2] Tacitus, *History*, v, 9. [3] *Id.*

[4] *E. g.*, there was a king of the city of Balsora while Haroun Al Rashid was sultan of Bagdad. See the Arabian Nights in Lane's translation, i, 254. Compare also the story of the Second Royal Mendicant, *id.*, i, 73, and the story of Marouf, *id.*, ii, 537.

[5] For examples of the last two uses see Ibn Hisham's *Life of Muhammed*, vol. ii, p. 971, where the Kaiser at Constantinople is called King of the Romans, and the Mukaukas king of Alexandria (*i. e.*, Egypt), the latter being a province of the Græco-Roman empire.

[6] Aramaic Targum and Syriac versions of Joshua xii.

[7] *Sendshirli Inscriptions.* [8] Addai the Apostle.

[9] *Joshua the Stylite*, *passim*, and the *Egyptian Papyri*.

[10] KB ii, 90. [11] *Id.* ii, 160–162.

rule over any extent of territory from a single city to an empire.

Conclusion

The above discussion has, we think, made it clear that a man who was not actually reigning at the time to which some event in his life is afterwards referred might rightly be called king by a writer who was describing that event after the man had really been clothed with the royal dignity. It has shown, also, that a man who was never king in the sense of having himself reigned *de facto*, or *de jure*, might be called king by way of distinction or honor, because he was in some way related to the reigning king. Lastly, it has shown that the word used for king by the ancient writers is to be defined not by the modern *usus loquendi*, nor by the conception which one may have formed from present-day usage, but in harmony with the manner in which the word was employed in antiquity and in the particular language to which the term, by us translated "king," belonged. Judged by these three rules there is no good reason why the author of Daniel may not properly and justly have called Nebuchadnezzar "the king of Babylon," when referring to an event in his life that happened before he had actually ascended the throne of his father.

CHAPTER VI

BELSHAZZAR

ONE of the commonest tricks of argument is the one which is called the begging of the question at issue. This is usually done by an abrupt categorical statement that a thing is so, as if it admitted of no contradiction and required no proof. It is frequently employed in political and religious controversy. "He casteth out devils by Beelzebub the prince of the devils," is a good example of this kind of fallacy. The Jewish enemies of Jesus simply assumed the whole question at issue without giving evidence to support their assumption. Their statement was at best their opinion. They had no evidence to support it.

Another example of this kind of fallacy is the assertion of Wellhausen in his *History of Israel*, p. 387, that כבש [*kāvash*] and רדה [*rādā*] are Aramaisms.[1]

[1] Whereas *kavash* is found in all branches of the Semitic family of languages and in all stages of Hebrew literature: and *rādā* in the sense of "*rule*" is found in Hebrew of all ages and in Babylonian as early as Hammurabi, but not in Syriac nor in any other Aramaic dialect except Mandaic and in the translations of, and comments on, the original Hebrew *rādā* as found in Gen. i, 26, 28; Ps. cx, 2, and Lev. xxvi, 17. See M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, etc.*, p. 1451b; Lewy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* I, 352a, II 408b; Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, p. 314, 613; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2588; Brederik, *Konkordanz zum Targum Onkelos*, 110, 183; Norberg, *Lexidion Cod. Nas.*; *Harper*, *Code of Hammurabi*, and the Hebrew concordances and dictionaries.

Closely allied to this fallacy is that involved in an assertion implying that there is plenty of evidence at hand to prove your side of a question, if you only cared to produce it. Thus when the Jews brought Jesus before Pilate, he asked them, "What accusation bring ye against this man?" Their answer was: "If he was not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto you." Having no evidence that would convict him before a Roman judge, they were condemning him by innuendo, by the mere assertion of his guilt; while at the same time they were implying that they had such an abundance of proof, and that the proof was so well known by all, that it was not reasonable in Pilate even to demand that they specify the charge against him. Whereas the fact was that they could not formulate and substantiate an accusation that would compass the purpose which they desired.

A still more insidious fallacy is that which seeks to gain the point at issue by obscuring the real point of the question. Thus, when Jesus was brought before Pilate the second time, the Jews made the accusation that Jesus perverted the nation by saying that he was "Christ a king." But when Pilate asked Jesus if he was then "the king of the Jews," he answered, "My kingdom is not of this world," etc. And Pilate gave judgment: "I find no fault in this man." Pilate was sharp enough to see that a man whose kingdom was not of this world, whose servants would not fight, and whose mission it was to bear witness to the truth, might be called a "king" without endangering the Roman state. The charge was false, because he had not claimed to be a king in the sense implied in the accusation. There was abundance of evidence to prove that he had claimed to be a king. Jesus admitted that he had said he was a

king. He denied, however, that he had meant that he was a king in the sense implied in the accusation against him. Pilate admitted the justice of his denial, and Jesus was declared not guilty of the charge of unfriendliness to Cæsar. For there are kings and kings.

A fourth fallacy, lies in the assumption that a statement is false because there is no convincing evidence that it is true. Thus Hitzig, writing in 1863[1] maintained that stringed instruments could not have been used by Deborah. So, also, Herodotus[2] thought that the report of the Phenician mariners whom Pharaoh-Necho had sent to sail around Africa, starting from the Red Sea and returning by the Straits of Gibraltar, was false, because they said that they "had the sun on their right hand" as they sailed around. So, Ewald thought that the records of Ezra and Chronicles were false because they use the title "king of Persia" of the Achaemenid kings before the Persian empire had passed away; whereas to-day we know nineteen different extra-biblical authors from the Achaemenid period who in twenty separate works give thirty-eight instances of the use of this title.[3]

In the objections made to the biblical accounts of Belshazzar, are to be found examples of all these kinds of fallacy. Of the first one the statements that "Nabunaid was the last king of Babylon" and that Belshazzar "was not styled king by his contemporaries." Of the second, that to represent Belshazzar as the king under whom Babylon was captured and as

[1] *Die Psalmm*, p. xiii. [2] Bk. IV, 42.

[3] See articles by the author on Royal Titles in Antiquity in *The Princeton Theological Review*, 1904–5, a contribution on the Titles of the Persian Kings in the *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, Berlin, 1915, and an article in the PTR for January, 1917, on *The Title "King of Persia" in the Old Testament.*

having been "a son of Nebuchadnezzar," contradicts all the other assured witnesses of the Old Testament. Of the third, that "Belshazzar never became king in his father's place." Of the fourth, that Belshazzar was never king of Babylon at all.

It is my purpose in this chapter to make it clear that there are no tenable objections to the statements of the book of Daniel, that Belshazzar was a king, that he was king of Babylon and of the Chaldeans, that he was king for three years, that he was the last king of Babylon before the Persian domination, and that he was a son of Nebuchadnezzar. This latter will involve a full discussion of the possible uses of the words "son" and "father," and of the possibility of the existence of two kings of a country at the same time, of the different ideas connoted by the phrase "king of Babylon," of the difference between the phrases "king of Babylon" and "king of the Chaldeans," and of the twofold datings of reigns.

Proceeding in the usual order we will state first the objection to Daniel's statements with regard to Belshazzar and the assumptions involved in them. They are as follows:

Objections Stated

1. "To represent that the king in whose reign Babylon was captured and the Chaldean empire destroyed was named Belshazzar and that he was a son of Nebuchadnezzar (Ch. V), is to contradict all the other assured witnesses of the Old Testament."[1]

2. "Belshazzar is represented as 'king of Babylon.'" "In point of fact Nabunaid was the last king of Babylon."

[1] Cornill, *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*, p. 384.

"Belshazzar may have distinguished himself, perhaps more than his father Nabunaid (Nabonidus), at the time when Babylon passed into the power of the Persians; and hence, in the recollections of a later age he may have been pictured as its last king; but he was not styled 'king' by his contemporaries (*cf.* Schrader on Dan. v, 1, 2)."[1]

3. "Belshazzar never became king in his father's place."[2]

Assumptions Involved

These objections resolve themselves into four assumptions: first, that the Scriptures mention elsewhere the king under whom Babylon fell; second, that Nabunaid was the last king of Babylon; third, that Belshazzar was never king of Babylon in his father's place; and fourth, that he was not called "king" by his contemporaries.

Answer to Assumptions

I. As the Scriptures nowhere else mention the name of the king who ruled over Babylon when the city was captured by the Medes and Persians, Cornill's objection, as stated, is absolutely without foundation in fact. If he means that the Scriptures elsewhere call a son of Nebuchadnezzar by the name Evil-Merodach, it does not follow from this that Nebuchadnezzar may not have had another son called Belshazzar.[3] We know from the Babylonian documents that he had at least three sons beside Evil-Merodach.[4] Why may he not have had a fifth?

[1] Driver, LOT, pp. 498, 499.

[2] Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 125.

[3] See on the word "son" below, p. 117.

[4] To wit: Marduk-nadin-ahe, Nk. 382.5, Musheshib-Marduk, Nk. 381.2 (?), and Marduk-shum-usur, Nk. 372.2, 393.2.

II. It must be admitted that Nabunaid was the last *de jure* king of the Babylonian *empire* whose capital was the city of Babylon; but this does not prove that he was the last *de facto* king of the Babylonians in the city or citadel of Babylon, nor even the last *de jure* king of the same. To prove, however, that the author of the book of Daniel is wrong in calling Belshazzar the last Chaldean king of Babylon, it must be shown that no one of that name, nor with that title, can have ruled in the city of Babylon during or after the downfall of Nabunaid.

A. As to the name and titles of Belshazzar, the monuments of the Babylonians tell us as follows:

1. That there was a Bel-shar-uṣur.[1]

2. That he was the son of Nabunaid.[2]

3. That he was "the first born son" of Nabunaid, the "son of the king" *par excellence.*[3] Nabunaid expressly calls Belshazzar his first born son (*maru reshtu*)[4] just as Nebuchadnezzar calls himself the *maru reshtu* of Nabopolassar.[5]

4. That he commanded the armies of the king of Babylon in the province of Accad, certainly from the 7th to the 12th year of Nabunaid and, for all that we

[1] In Nabunaid's prayer to Sin, the moon god, we learn that his first born son was Bel-shar-usur. (KB iii, ii, 96.)

[2] On certain tablets from the city of Babylon, a "Bel-shar-uṣur the son of the king" is mentioned. These tablets are found in Strassmaier's edition of the inscriptions of Nabunaid numbered as follows: 50, 1; 13, year 1, month 12, day 26: 184, 1; 4, year 5, month 1, day 25; 270, lines 4, 6, 9, 21, year 7, month 11, day 9; 581, lines e, 3, 8, year 11, month ?, day 20; 688, line 3, year 12, month 12b, day 27.

[3] In other places Belshazzar is apparently called simply the "son of the king," *e.g.*, *Inscriptions of Nabonidus*, 581. 4, 331. 4, 387, 401, 50. 6. In numbers 50 and 581, it will be seen that the "son of the king" must be Belshazzar, since he is expressly so called in these tablets; see note 2 above. [4] VAB, IV, 246. 26, 252. 24. [5] *Id.*, 72, 41.

know to the contrary, during the whole reign of Nabunaid;[1] and that in certain kingly functions he is associated with his father as early as the 12th year of the reign of Nabunaid.[2]

5. That between the 16th day of the 4th month of the 17th year of Nabunaid and the 11th day of the 8th month, the son of the king was in command of the Babylonians in the citadel of Babylon and was the *de facto* king of Babylon, inasmuch as Nabunaid had been captured.[3]

[1] In the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle*, *Obv.*, ii, 5, it is said that in the 7th year of king Nabunaid "the son of the king with his princes and troops was in the land of Accad." A like statement is made for the 9th, 10th, and 11th years, *id.*, 10, 19, 23.

[2] In the tablet published by Pinches in the *Expository Times* for 1915, an oath was sworn in the name of Belshazzar along with his father. Oaths were never sworn by the names of any men except kings. This tablet is from the 12th year of Nabunaid. The tablet reads as follows: "Ishi-Amurru, son of Nuranu, has sworn by Bel, Nebo, the lady of Erech, and Nana, the oath of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and Belshazzar, the king's son, that, on the 7th day of the month Adar of the twelfth year of Nabonadus, king of Babylon, I will go to Erech etc."

As Dr. Pinches remarks: "The importance of this inscription is that it places Belshazzar practically on the same plane as Nabonidus, his father, five years before the latter's deposition, and the bearing of this will not be overlooked. Officially, Belshazzar had not been recognized as king, as this would have necessitated his father's abdication, but it seems clear that he was in some way associated with him on the throne, otherwise his name would hardly have been introduced into the oath with which the inscription begins. We now see that not only for the Hebrews, but also for the Babylonians, Belshazzar held a practically royal position. The conjecture as to Daniel's being made the third ruler in the kingdom because Nabonidus and Belshazzar were the first and second is thus confirmed, and the mention of Belshazzar's third year in Dan. viii, 1 is explained." (See, also, the original text and translation of this tablet in an article by Dr. Pinches in PSBA for Jan., 1916, pp. 27–29.)

[3] In the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle Rev.* A. 15–22, it is said that Ugbaru (Gobryas) governor (*pihu*) of the land of Gutium and the troops

6. That if we accept the most probable rendering of the signs in the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle*, ii, 23, this son of the king was killed on the night when the citadel of Babylon was taken by the troops of Cyrus under Gobryas.

From these statements of the monuments, it is clear that there was a Bel-shar-uṣur, the first-born son of Nabunaid, who almost certainly commanded the armies of Babylon for many years and was in command of the citadel of Babylon and hence *de facto* king for four months after the capture of his father Nabunaid, and that the same *de facto* king was probably the son of the king, who was slain by Gobryas on the night that the citadel was taken. That he might properly have been called *king* has been shown above.[1]

B. Here, several further questions must be discussed.

1. Was the Bel-shar-uṣur of the inscriptions the same as the Belshazzar of Daniel? We need not pause to discuss this. For it is admitted by all that despite the difference in spelling the same person is referred to in both.[2]

2. Is the *spelling* בֵּלְשַׁאצַּר Belshaṣṣar an indication of a date as early as the 6th century, or of a date as late as the 2nd century B.C.? There are four points to be considered here.

(1) The vowels. As the vowel signs were not added to the Hebrew consonants till some centuries after Christ, and as no vowels for the proper names in Daniel

of Cyrus entered Babylon without a battle. Afterwards Nabunaid, having been shut up, was taken in Babylon. Cyrus entered Babylon on the 3rd day of the 8th month and Gobryas was made governor of it on the 11th of the same month.

[1] Chapter V. [2] KAT, 2nd edition, p. 433; 3rd edition, p. 396.

can be traced farther back than the LXX version, no argument as to date can be based on the disagreement of the vowels in the name Belshazzar with the vowels of the name as found in Babylonian. One point only is to be noted, namely that it was not customary to denote the first syllable (*u*) of *uṣur* in the Aramaic transliteration.[1]

(2) The double ṣ (Eng. *z*). This goes back only as far as the *pointings* of the earliest Hebrew manuscripts, the Greek versions and Josephus writing but one letter for the two indicated by the present Massoretic text.

(3) Bl is the common Aramaic and Hebrew transliteration of the Babylonian Bel.[2]

(4) The transliteration of the *sh* by *sh*, instead of *s* (*samekh*) causes some difficulty. While *shar* is commonly rendered in Aramaic by *sar*[3], as also, at times, in the Old Testament Hebrew; yet [4] *sometimes* we find Assyrian *shar* represented in Hebrew by *shar*.[5]

(5) The dropping or assimilation of the *r* from the end of *shar*. The only example of this assimilation to be found in the inscriptions is on a seal from the seventh century B. C.[6] where the name Sassar-il probably stands for Sar-sare-il. In Daniel we have the same assimilation also in the name Belṭeshazzar, if we take the last two syllables as standing for *shar-uṣur*. The only probable example in late Aramaic is *Bazira*, "seed," for

[1] See examples in CIS ii–i, 38.6, 50 *et al.*

[2] *E.g.*, CIS ii, 16, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 40, 41, 44, 46; Is. xi, xlvi. 1; Jer. 1, 2, 5, 1, 1, 44; 2 Kings, 20, 12.

[3] *E.g.*, CIS i, 10, 29, 38, 22, 82, 88, 81, 21, 39.

[4] *E.g.*, in Sargon for Sharrukin.

[5] *E.g.*, in the Aramaic Sharkin = Ass. Sharrukin, CIS ii, i, 32, and in the O. T. Hebrew in Sharezer, Is. lvii, 38, 2 Ki. xix, 37, Zech. vii, 2, and in Nergal-shar-ezer, Jer. xxxix, 3, 13.

[6] CIS ii, i, 82.

barzar'a, though even this is doubtful.[1] So that there is no evidence to show that it was usual at any time in the history of the Aramaic language, nor indeed of any of the Semitic languages, for any of them to assimilate or drop an *r*. Admitting then that an *r* has been dropped, or assimilated, in the *shar* of Belshazzar, what follows as to the time when it was dropped, or assimilated? Nothing, of course. And so, the charge that Belshazzar is a late form because of the assimilated *r* and that hence the book is late falls to the ground.[2]

But even if it could be shown that the spelling was late, that would not prove that the book was late; *e.g.* American editions of English authors drop *u* from col-

[1] See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, p. 55; and *Neu-Syrische Gram.*, p. 53. The Babylonian-Aramaic '*ama* is probably derived from the Babylonian *amu* and not from '*amar*. See Dalman, *Gram des. jüd. pal. Aram.*, p. 101. Compare also Phenician בשם for Heb. ברשים Lidzbarski, *Nord-semit. Epigraphie*, p. 246, and Madassuma for Madarsuma. Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache*, pp. 99 and 105.

[2] As to the spelling of foreign proper names by contemporaries, we would like also to say a word in this connection. We have no right to demand in this respect from the biblical writers, what we do not demand from ourselves, or from others, in the way of accuracy. We say Emperor William; the Germans say Kaiser Wilhelm. The Persians said Khshayarsha; the Hebrews, Ahashwerosh; the Greeks, Xerxes; the Egyptians, Khshyarsha; the Susians, Ikshersha, or Iksherishsha; while the Babylonians spelled it in at least twenty-three different ways, the most common of which was Ak-shi-ia-ar-shi.

The contemporaries of Darius the son of Hystaspis spelled his name as follows: the Greeks, Dareios; the Persians, Darayavaush; the Susians, Tariyamaush; the Hebrews, Dareyawesh; and the Egyptians, Babylonians and Arameans in at least three different ways. See Sachau's *Aram. Papyrus* for their spellings in Egypto-Aramaic. The Peshitto gives a fourth spelling in use among the Syrian Arameans. For the many spellings in Babylonian, see Tallquist's *Namenbuch* and Clay's *Murashu Tablets*, from time of Darius II, and the author's articles on the "Titles of the Kings in Antiquity" in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for 1904–5, and on the "Titles of the Persian Kings" in the *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, Berlin, 1915, pp. 179–207.

our and like words, even though the English editions have it.

III. It is said, further, that Belshazzar never became king in his father's place. This is one of those ambiguous statements worthy of the oracle of Delphi. Daniel does not say that Belshazzar ever became king in his father's place, or in the same sense that his father had been king, nor over the same dominion. It simply says that he was "king of the Chaldeans" and "king of Babylon." This last phrase is used of him only once and then his first year only is mentioned. I repeat, that the book of Daniel speaks only of the first year of Belshazzar *as king of Babylon:* to wit, in the first verse of chapter seven. In chapter viii, 1 it speaks simply of the third year of the reign of Belshazzar the king, without defining over what or whom he reigned. In chapter v, 30, he is called the Chaldean king, and in verse 18 the son of Nebuchadnezzar. These statements can all be easily reconciled with the monuments by saying that Belshazzar, who, according to Daniel ix, 1, had at least for three years been king of the Chaldeans, was for at least a year or part of a year, in some sense or another, the king of Babylon. There are the following matters involved in this assertion:

1. The different ideas connoted by the word "king."
2. The possibility of there being two kings of the same country at one and the same time.
3. The different ideas connoted by the phrase "king of Babylon."
4. The difference between "king of Babylon" and "king of the Chaldeans."
5. The twofold datings of reigns.
6. The possibility of a man's having two fathers.

1. The different ideas connoted by the word "king," have already been sufficiently discussed in Chapter V.

2. On the possibility of there being two kings over the same country at the same time, we can confidently affirm that this was often the case. It may be alleged in favor of this proposition, that (1) for prudential reasons, such as for settling the succession, sons were sometimes crowned during the lifetime of their father. For example, Solomon was proclaimed king while his father David was still alive.[1] Esarhaddon had his two sons Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin crowned respectively as kings of Assyria and Babylon before he died in 668 B. C.[2] The Persian kings also appointed a successor before they started on any expedition, (Herodotus, vii, 2). In accordance with this custom Darius Hystaspis appointed Xerxes to be king over the Persians before he prepared to march against Greece.[3] Later still the Greek Seleucid kings followed this custom; for Antiochus calls his son Seleucus king while he himself was still reigning.[4]

(2) Sometimes, the reigning monarch made his son, or some other person, king of a part of his dominion. Thus, Pharaoh-Necho made Eliakim king of Judah, changing his name to Jehoiakim;[5] and Nebuchadnezzar made Mattaniah king, changing his name to Zedekiah.[6] So, also, in 702 B.C., Sennacherib placed Bel-ibni, a scion of a noble family of Babylon who had grown up at the court of Nineveh, upon the throne of Babylon as a sub-king; and in 699 he enthroned his own son Ashur-nadin-shum in Babylon, still under subordination to

[1] 1 Kings i, 39. 43, 46, 51, 53.

[2] Winckler's *History of Babylon and Assyria*, p. 272.

[3] Her. vii, 4.

[4] Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 145.

[5] 2 Kings xxiii, 34.

[6] 2 Kings xxiv, 17.

himself as overlord.[1] Later, he seems to have made his son Esarhaddon governor (Aramaic, *king*) of Babylon.[2] In 668 B.C., Esarhaddon proclaimed his younger son Shamash-shum-ukin king of Babylon under the overlordship of Ashurbanipal king of Assyria.[3] He also appointed at one time 20 sub-kings in Egypt.[4] When Cyrus conquered Nabunaid and Belshazzar, he seems to have made his older son Cambyses king of Babylon, while he, himself, took the title of king of lands.[5]

(3) Jeremiah speaks of the "*kings* of the Medes." This would imply that when Jeremiah wrote, there were more kings of Media than one. That this implication of Jeremiah is correct is supported by the fact stated by Cyrus on the Cylinder Inscription and by Darius on the Behistun Inscription and elsewhere, that the father and grandfather and great-grandfather of Cyrus, and Teispes the common ancestor of Cyrus and Darius, were kings of Anshan (or Persia?), while that country was still subject to the Median hegemony. It agrees, also, with the usual system of government in vogue in Western Asia, and, in a measure, in Egypt also (compare Tel-el-Amarna Letters), up to the time of Darius Hystaspis, and even in part in the Persian empire during and after his time;[6] as, also, with the system of government employed in later times by the Arsacid kings[7] down to the time of Ardashir, the first of the Sassanid dynasty of Persia.[8]

[1] Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 119. [2] Winckler, *id.*, 122.
[3] *Id.*, 124. [4] KB ii, 162. [5] See KB iii–ii, 134.

[6] See the catalogue of Xerxes' forces which marched against Greece, in Herodotus, vii, 61–99.

[7] The common title of the Arsacids was "king of kings." See the author's article in PTR for Jan., 1917.

[8] According to Jacob of Sarug, "king of kings" was a title, also, of the ancient kings of India. See Schröter, in *ZDMG* vol. xxv, 353.

That the Persian empire in the time of Cyrus, also, had more kings than one is supported by what Daniel says about Darius the Mede. Darius the Mede is not called in Daniel either king of Persia, or king of Media, or king of Medo-Persia; but simply "the Mede" (vi, 1; xi, 1); or "the son of Xerxes of the seed of Media who had been made king over the kingdom of the Chaldeans."[1] If Darius the Mede is the same as Ugbaru (Gubaru, Gobryas) the Pihat of Gutium, then he was made for a time the Pihat of the city of Babylon also. If Darius the Mede was not the same as Gobryas the Pihat of Gutium, then Daniel vi, 1, ix, 1, xi, 1, must be taken along with v, 30, as meaning that Darius received the *de jure* kingdom of Belshazzar the Chaldean, that is, the kingdom of Chaldea. In this latter case, Gobryas will have succeeded Belshazzar as Pihat of the city of Babylon and Darius the Mede will have succeeded Belshazzar as king of Chaldea, both of them being under the suzerainty of Cyrus king of Persia and of the lands. This interpretation agrees with Daniel vi, 29, where it is said that Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian. It agrees, also, with the statement of chapter vi, verses 9, 13, 16, that Darius the Mede was ruling according to the laws of Media and Persia.

Further, Darius the Persian,[2] speaks of his father Hystaspis as having been a king. Inasmuch as Hystaspis can only have been a sub-king under Cyrus, this implies that the policy of Cyrus permitted of the reigning of kings under himself as king of kings. Moreover, Herodotus says that Hystaspis was hyparch, *i. e.*, satrap, of Persia under Smerdis, whereas Darius calls Hystaspis king. Again, Cyrus, according to

[1] IX, 1.

[2] *Behistun Inscription*, Col. i, line 8.

Ctesias, made his son Tanyoxarus independent sovereign of a portion of his dominion at the same time that he constituted the elder brother Cambyses his successor in the empire,[1] just as Esarhaddon established Ashurbanipal, his eldest son, as king of Assyria and Shamash-shum-ukin, a younger son, as king of Babylon. Nabunaid probably pursued this same policy; for according to one interpretation of the inscriptions of Eshki-Harran,[2] his son Nabunaid II called, like his father, "king of Babylon," was ruling as king of Harran in northern Mesopotamia under the overlordship of Nabunaid I at Babylon.[3] It is probable, also, that the "son of the king" who is mentioned in the *Chronicle* as having been in command of the army in Accad was Belshazzar, and that he had been made king of the Chaldeans with his capital at Ur.[4]

(4) Finally, that Belshazzar was in some sense looked upon and treated as a king as early as the twelfth year of Nabunaid, is evident from the tablet already cited on which a man called Iši-Amurru, son of Nuranu, is said to have "sworn by Bel, Nabu, the Lady of Erech, and Nana, the oath of Nabunaid, king of Babylon, and of Belshazzar, the king's son." That Belshazzar is here treated as a king is shown, as has been pointed out, by the fact that oaths were never sworn by the name

[1] Blakesly, Herodotus, ii, 430.

[2] H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie*, etc., Paris, 1907.

[3] It is probable, or at least possible, that this is the king referred to in the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle* as having been conquered and killed in the 9th year of Nabunaid I (KB iii, ii, 130.)

[4] Compare Tiele, *Geschichte*, p. 463. The interpretation of the Eshki-Harran inscription given by Zehnpfund would of course modify these relations. If the high-priest of Harran be the same as Nabu-balatsu-ikbi the father of Nabunaid, it was the father who reigned at Harran while the son was king of Babylon.

of any men, except those of royal rank. It is especially noteworthy in this connection that in four, or five, cases, the names of *two* kings are found in the same oath.[1]

This new tablet removes the last reasonable objection that could be made to the right of the author of Daniel to call Belshazzar king. It will also allow of his having been king for at least five years. For this tablet dates from the 12th year of Nabunaid, whereas he was not dethroned till his 17th year.[2]

(5) We know that Nabunaid, like the other kings of the great empires of Assyria and Babylon, had many rulers, called kings, subservient to him.

[1] 1. In KU 248, the oath is "by (Šamaš), Marduk, Sumulael, and Sabium." Sumulael and Sabium were father and son.

2. In KU 380, the oath is "by Šamaš and Immerum, by Marduk and Sumulael." Immerum and Sumulael were contemporaries.

3. On a tablet published by Langdon in PSBA xxxiii, 192, we read: "By Nannar and Manana, by Zamama and Yapium they swore." According to Prof. Johns, this oath shows that Manana had probably associated Yapium with him on the throne, just as Sabium associated his son Apil-Sin with himself for at least his last year.[1]

4. In KU 420, an oath "by Marduk and Sin-Muballit, by Anum-bel-tabi (?) and his wife (?)," occurs. In this case, Ranke thinks that Anum-bel-Tabi is the name of a king of Assyria. (*Early Babylonian Personal Names*, *S. E. D.* iii.) If "his wife" is a correct reading, this is the only case where a woman is mentioned in an oath. If she were queen of Assyria, the rule that none but royal persons are named in oaths would still hold good.

[2] For authorities on the oath among the Babylonians and Assyrians the reader is referred to *Hammurabi's Gesetz* by Kohler, Peiser, and Ungnad (KU); also, to *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden* by Kohler and Ungnad; to *Babylonisches Rechtsleben* by Kohler and Peiser; to *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden* by Kohler and Ungnad; to *Babylonische Verträge* by Peiser; to articles by Langdon and Johns in PSBA for 1911; to *Notes* by Thureau-Dangin in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* for 1911, and especially to an article by Prof. S. A. B. Mercer in AJSLL vol. xxix.

[1] PSBA xxxiii, 99.

For example, in the great cylinder from Abu-Habba, Col. i, 38–43, he says that he mustered the kings, princes, and governors, from Gaza on the border of Egypt to the Upper Sea beyond the Euphrates to the building of Ehullul the house of Sin.[1] So, Cyrus, also, says on his cylinder, line 28, that the totality of the kings of the whole world from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, (and) all the kings of Amurri brought their tribute to him at Babylon. In his prism inscription, Col. v, 12–27, Esarhaddon gives his orders to 12 kings of Palestine and Syria, and to 10 kings of Cyprus, all of whom and their allies he mentions by name. In another place, he calls himself king of the kings of Egypt.[2] The names of these kings, 20 in number, and their cities, are given by Ashurbanipal on the Rassam Cylinder, Col. i, 90–109. Similar facts may be gathered in scores from the Assyrian inscriptions.

3. Can there have been more than one man called "king of Babylon" at one time?

It is certain that Cyrus and Cambyses were both called kings of Babylon in contract tablets of the same month and year.[3] The inscription from Eshki-Harran published by M. Pognon shows that Nabunaid I and his son Nabunaid II were both called "king of Babylon" on the same inscription. Inasmuch as the Aramaic and Hebrew of Daniel know no words for ruler save king, ruler, lord, and prince,[4] it is obvious that Gobryas (Gubaru) the *pihatu*, or governor, of Babylon, mentioned in the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle*, Reverse 20, must have been denoted in Aramaic in his official capacity by one of these words. The word

[1] KB ii, ii, 99.

[2] KB ii, 150; I R., 48, No. 5.

[3] Tiele, *Geschichte*, pp. 483, 484.

[4] *Melek*, *shallit* or *shilṭon*, *rab* and *sar*.

rab, "lord," is never used as mayor, or governor, of a city or province in the Bible in either Hebrew or Aramaic. *Shallit* is thus used in Hebrew only of Joseph, in Gen. xlii, 6, and of a ruler in general, in Ecc. x, 5; in Aramaic only in Daniel ii, 15, of Arioch, the chief (*rab*) of the executioners of the king, and in Daniel v, 29, and ii, 10.[1] *Shilton* is used in the Bible only in the Aramaic of Daniel iii, 2, 3, as a general term for all "the rulers of the provinces." *Sar*[2] is never used anywhere in any Aramaic dialect. *Melek* (king) is used over 5000 times in biblical Hebrew, always in the sense of the chief man of a city, province, kingdom, or empire. In biblical Aramaic, it is used nearly 200 times, and it is the only appropriate Aramaic word found in Daniel for the chief ruler of a city, province, kingdom, or empire, except perhaps the *shilton* of iii, 2 and 3. So, that if Belshazzar was not a king of the empire or kingdom of Babylon, but only ruler of a province, or city, the writer of Daniel was limited in the pure Hebrew to a choice of terms wherewith properly to designate him to *sar* and *melek*. He chose *melek*, perhaps because it was more definite and unambiguous. In Aramaic, the writer was limited to *malka* and *shilton*, and he chose the more common term.[3]

[1] In ii, 10 and v, 29, it is probably a verbal adjective.

[2] In Biblical Hebrew, it is used about 400 times, usually of the captain of an army, or of a part of an army, or in the sense of our word prince; a few times in the sense of the head man of a city, as in Jud. ix, 30; 1 Kings xxii, 26–2; Chron. xviii, 25; 2 Kings xxiii, 8; 2 Chron. xxxiv, 8; twice certainly in the sense of governor, as in Esther viii, 9; ix, 3; and a few times in the sense of king, as in Daniel viii, 25; x, 13; x, 20 *bis;* Hos. viii, 10 (?).

[3] The Egyptian papyri show that he might, also, have used *mâr*, a title which was given to the governors of Egypt under the Persians. See Sachau, *Aram. Papyrus*, p. 286.

4. Is there any difference between the terms "king of Babylon" and "king of the Chaldeans" or "Chaldean king"?

The importance of this question lies in the fact that only the first year of Belshazzar as king of Babylon is mentioned (vii, 1), whereas his third year as king is spoken of in chapter viii, 1. Now, if we suppose that Belshazzar is the "son of the king" mentioned in the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle* as having been killed at the storming of the citadel of Babylon by Gobryas, he can have been *de facto* king of that part of Babylon for only about four months. This would be enough, however, to justify the writer of Daniel in speaking of his first year as king of Babylon. But how then can this writer speak of his third year as king? Evidently, he must refer to his having been king in some sense before that time. In Daniel v, 29, he is called the "Chaldean king" or "king of the Chaldeans"; and we have only to suppose that Nabunaid I had made Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans in the southern part of his dominions, just as he had probably made Nabunaid II king in the northern part of his dominions around Harran, in order to reconcile the statements of Daniel with the inscriptions. I have already said that Professor Tiele, in his history of Babylonia, puts forth the view that Belshazzar was probably reigning at Ur in southern Babylonia, when his father Nabunaid I wrote the hymns to Sin in which Belshazzar's name is mentioned. The reader must remember, that the Chaldeans and Babylonians were not originally the same people; but that the Chaldeans had again and again conquered Babylon, and in the reign of Nabopolassar the father of Nebuchadnezzar the Great had established their dominion over it. Nabunaid I, however, seems to have

been a Babylonian who superseded the Chaldean house of Nebuchadnezzar.[1] In what relation he stood to Nebuchadnezzar we have no means of determining. In what manner Belshazzar may have been called Nebuchadnezzar's son, we shall discuss below. It is sufficient for our present purpose to state that, it is probable that, for some reason or another, Belshazzar was made king of the Chaldeans, and that it was in this capacity that the writer referred to his third year. This reference to the different datings of his reign raises the next question.

5. Could the years of a king's reigning be dated in more ways than one? We have already discussed above the different ways of dating the beginning of a king's reign over a given country. Here we shall discuss different datings of his reign over *different* countries.

It will be known to the readers of British history, that James the VI of Scotland became king of England after the death of Elizabeth in 1603. But he had been crowned king of Scotland on July 29, 1567. His mother, Queen Mary, did not leave Scotland till May 16, 1568, and was not executed till Feb. 8, 1587. Here, then, are four dates, from any one of which the years of James' reign may have been dated. From July 29, 1567, he was in a sense *de jure* and *de facto* king of Scotland. In 1603, he became king of England. The historians and archives of England speak of his years as king of England; the historians and archives of Scotland, of his years as king of Scotland. The same historian might speak of either one or the other reign and date accordingly. In the dates from the 22nd dynasty of Egyptian kings, a double system is the common one. "Manetho's defective statements" with regard to the length of the

[1] Winckler: *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 324.

reigns of the kings of this dynasty may arise from the fact that he may refer to the length of the reigns "after the death of the predecessor, while the regnal years on monuments count from the beginning of a co-regency."[1] Thus Shabaka is entitled king of Egypt as early as 725 B.C., though his accession to the throne must have been about 715 B.C.,[2] and Taharka was already in 701 B.C. king of Cush, although he did not become sole king till 693 B.C.[3] So, Tiglath-Pileser III was for 17 years king of Assyria, but died in his second year as king of Babylon.[4] Ashurbanipal was king of Assyria for 43 years, and probably king of Babylon under the name of Kandalanu for 17 years.[5] Moreover, Pognon argues with great plausibility, that Nabunaid was king of Babylon for 17 years, but of Harran for only nine.[6]

Now, the writer of Daniel was confronted by the same situation, certainly with regard to one king, and most probably with regard to at least three kings. The one king is Cyrus. At first, he was king only of the city or country of Anshan, a part of Elam. Here he began to reign about 556 B.C. Later, about 549 B.C., he became king of Media, after conquering Astyages and his capital, Ekbatana. Three years later, in 546 B.C., he is first called king of Persia. Then, in 538 B.C., he became king of Babylon. When Daniel speaks of his first year, in chapter i, verse 21, he is evidently speaking of his first year as king of Babylon. When he speaks of his third year, in chapter x, 1, he says "the third year of Cyrus king of Persia"; so that the two

[1] Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii, 227. [2] *Id.*, 282.
[3] *Id.*, 296. [4] KB ii, 277, and i, 215.
[5] Winckler, *Hist. of Bab. and Ass.*, 237–242.
[6] *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie*, p. 9 foll.

statements are perfectly consistent. So, also, when Daniel speaks in chapter viii, 1, of the third year of Belshazzar the king, he may mean the third of his reign as king of Chaldea; and when he speaks of his first year, in vii, 1, he most probably means the first year as king of Babylon.

6. The possibility of a man's having two fathers is involved in the assumption made by the critics, that Belshazzar cannot have been called by Daniel the son of the Chaldean Nebuchadnezzar, and at the same time have been the son of the Babylonian Nabunaid I.

A large part of the difficulty and confusion in the discussion of this subject has arisen from a failure to consider first of all what the orientals connoted by the terms father and son. Prof. W. Robertson Smith has discussed the terms at length as to their use in Arabic, in his work *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.*[1] The conclusions there reached are that a man might have four or even five fathers. These may be called (1) procreator, (2) possessor, or "the man in whose house one is born," (3) the foster father, or "the one who raises, or nurtures him," (4) the protector, or adoptive father, (5) a man who adopts one after he has already been adopted once. To these might be added the use of father (6) to denote a stepfather,[2] who is not a foster or adoptive father, and (7) as a title of respect, or politeness, or endearment.[3] So, also, son was used in ancient documents (1) to denote succession in office, as Jehu is called the son of Omri;[4] or (2) for mem-

[1] Pp. 44–46, 110–114. [2] *Murabbi.*

[3] See in *Story of Badoura*, Lane's *Arabian Nights*, p. 308; and also, in Babylonian, as in the inscription of Eshki-Harran, published by M. Pognon in his *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie*, Paris, 1907–8.

[4] KAT, 2nd edition, 189, 22.

bers of a corporation, as the son of a prophet is used in the Scriptures,[1] or the son of a scribe in Assyrian;[2] or (3) for remote descendant, as son of Adam in the Arabian Nights,[3] or son of David, and son of Abraham in the New Testament;[4] or (4) for grandson, as frequently in the Scriptures; or (5) for members of a race, or tribe, as sons of the Achæans,[5] or sons of Ammon;[6] or (6) to denote a patronymic, as *sons of Babylon*, in Sargon's inscriptions,[7] for Babylonians; or (7) to denote character, as "sons of thunder," "son of his father the devil," "sons of God"; or (8) to denote one in a subordinate position, as a slave;[8] or (9) as a title of affection or respect;[9] or (10) stepson[10] or (11) "the son of the bed of the man in whose house one is born";[11] or (12) adopted son. So among the Arabs, see W. R. Smith, *id.*; and among the Babylonians.[12]

It is evident, then, that Nebuchadnezzar may have been called the father of Belshazzar, just because he was his predecessor on the throne of Babylon, in the same sense as Omri was the father of Jehu who destroyed the house of Omri, or as Naram-Sin more than a thousand years before Nebuchadnezzar is, in one of his inscriptions, called by the latter his "old father."[13] Or, Nebuchadnezzar may have been the grandfather or even the great-grandfather, of Belshazzar. When Nebuchadnezzar made his first recorded expedition

[1] 1 Kings xx, 35 *et al.*

[2] Sargon: *Annals*, 378, 382, 466; Pr. 31, 109, 152 *et al.*

[3] Lane, ii, 196. [4] Lk. xviii, 38; xix, 9. [5] Iliad, i, 116.

[6] Num. xxi, 24. [7] *Annals*, 296 *et al.*

[8] Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, iii, 413, 475.

[9] So in the *Arabian Nights*, Lane, pp. 304 and 308, in the *Story of the Princess Badoura*. [10] Arabic, *rabib*. [11] W. R. Smith, *op cit.*

[12] Cook's *Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, p. 131, *seq.*

[13] *Abam labiru*, Langdon, p. 69, ii, 27.

across the Euphrates in 605 B.C., he can scarcely have been under 20. If he were 25 at that time, he would have died at about 69 years of age, old enough to have had a great-grandson of 15 years when Nabunaid became king in 555 B.C., and 32 years old in 538 B.C. Or, since Nebuchadnezzar died in 561 B.C., a son of his might easily have been flourishing in 538 B.C. As to the relation between Belshazzar and the two kings Nebuchadnezzar and Nabunaid, he may well have been the son of both. First, he may have been the procreated son of Nebuchadnezzar and the stepson of Nabunaid, because the latter married Belshazzar's mother after the death of Nebuchadnezzar. It was the custom of succeeding kings to marry the wives of their predecessors. Thus Smerdis the Magian married the wives of his deceased predecessor Cambyses and Darius Hystaspis married Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, and Phædyma, the daughter of Otanes,[1] both of whom had been the wives of his two predecessors. In this case, Belshazzar may have been the own son of Nebuchadnezzar, and the foster son of Nabunaid. Or, Nabunaid may have been merely the stepfather of Belshazzar. The queen of Daniel v, 10, may have been the mother of Belshazzar (though she is not called this), and still have been a young woman when the glory of the Chaldee's excellency passed into the hands of the conquering Medo-Persian army under Gobryas and Cyrus. Or, Belshazzar may have been the own son of Nebuchadnezzar and the adopted son of Nabunaid. This would account for the fact that Berosus, according to Josephus,[2] calls Nabunaid a Babylonian, whereas Belshazzar is called by Daniel a Chaldean. What could have been better policy on the part of the Babylonian

[1] Herodotus, iii, 68, 88.

[2] *Cont. Apion*, i, 20.

Nabunaid than to attempt to unite the conquered Babylonians and the Chaldean conquerors by adopting as his own successor the son, or grandson, of Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest of all the Chaldean kings? According to the code of Hammurabi, 186, 190, 193, a man might in this way have two fathers. This was the law, also, in the time of Nabunaid.[1]

A natural question arises here, namely, how could Belshazzar be called by Nabunaid, not merely the "son of the king," but "Belshazzar the first-born son"[2] and "Belshazzar the first-born son, the offspring of my heart,"[3] if he were not the born son of Nabunaid? Fortunately, this question is answered in Meissner's *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, 98, where we learn that an adopted son could be called, not merely "the son," but "the eldest son" of his adopted parents.[4]

In the inscription of Eshki-Harran the high priest calls Nabunaid his "son, the offspring of his heart"; although we know that Nabunaid was the son of Nabu-

[1] See Strassmaier: *Inscriptions of Nabunaid*, No. 380, and KB iv, 238, and the able discussion in Cook's *Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, p. 131 *seq.* Thus, in Peiser's *Babylonian Contracts* (*Babylonische Verträge*), xxxi, 14–17, Iddina-Nabu, the son of (*apilshu*) Nabubanzir gives corn, etc., to his father (*abishu*) Gimillu. In number xxxviii, 7, of the same work it is said, that Gimillu had taken Iddina-Nabu to sonship (*ana marratu*) and Iddina-Nabu as adopted son gets the inheritance of Gimillu (*id.*, cxxx, 5, 6). In No. 43 of Schorr's treatise (*Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*) Belishunu, the priestess of Shamash, and daughter of Nakarum, is adopted by Eli-eriza, the priestess of Shamash, and daughter of Shamash-ilum, and calls Eli-eriza her mother. So, in No. 30, 12, of the same, Shataya is called the mother of Amat-Mamu, daughter of Sha-ilushu; but in 1, 27, Shamuhtum, also, is called her mother (*i. e.*, own mother). So that it is clear that a child, according to Babylonian law, could have two fathers or two mothers.

[2] "*Die Grosse Inschrift von Ur*," KB iii, ii, 83, 89 (*mar rish-tu-u*).

[3] "*Die Kleine Inschrift von Ur*," KB *id.*, 97.

[4] See, also, Johns' *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws*, p. 156.

balaṭsu-iḳbi.[1] It will be seen that this law answers the objection that might be raised, arising from the fact that, on the Behistun Inscription, the rebels against Darius, Nadintu-bel and Arachu, both assumed the name of "Nebuchadnezzar the son of Nabunaid."[2] There may have been an own son of Nabunaid with the name of Nebuchadnezzar, and another son of the name of Nabunaid, and yet his adopted son might be called the first-born son and be the heir-apparent.[3]

Or Belshazzar may have been the adopted son of Nebuchadnezzar and the own son of Nabunaid. An adopted son might call his adopted father, "father." Or, Nebuchadnezzar may have been the grandfather and Nabunaid, also, the grandfather of Belshazzar.[4] Or, finally, it is possible that Nabunaid was a lineal descendant of Nebuchadnezzar. For the father of the former was Nabu-balaṭsu-iḳbi, "the wise prince," and if we take this Nabu-balaṭsu-iḳbi to be the son of the Amelu mentioned in the tablet from the reign of Nabunaid (495, 24), and take this Amelu to be the same as Amel-Marduk the son and successor of Nebuchadnez-

[1] See the great cylinder of Abu-Habba, i, 6.

[2] See Bezold's *Achämenideninschriften*, i, 77–90, and i, 77–89.

[3] See Johns' *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws*, p. 156.

In addition to the above places, which are given in Schrader's *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, Belshazzar is called "the son of the king" in Clay's *Miscellaneous Inscriptions of the Yale Babylonian Collection*, No. 39 *bis*, and in the *Inschriften von Nabonidus* by Strassmaier, No. 581, line 4, and 1043, line 4; and "Belshazzar the son of the king" in the same book, No. 184, and No. 581, lines 2, 3, and No. 688, line 3, and No. 270, lines 4, 6, 9, and 21; also, "Belshazzar" alone, on No. 581, line 9. Tablets 184, 581, and 688 are referred to and translated in *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. iii, 124–127.

[4] Sir Robert Anderson quotes from the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute* (vol. xviii, p. 99) as follows: "In a table of Babylonian kings, mention is made of a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, who married the father of Nabunaid."

zar, then Nabunaid would be the great-grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, and Belshazzar, son of Nabunaid, would be the great-great-grandson of Nebuchadnezzar in the direct male line.

IV. Lastly, it is assumed that Belshazzar "was not styled 'king' by his contemporaries," and that therefore he cannot have been a king at all, much less a king of Babylon. Professor Driver cites as his authority for this statement a comment of the late Prof. Eberhard Schrader of Berlin. With regard to this statement of Professor Schrader, that Belshazzar was not styled "king" by his contemporaries, it is true that we have documents from every year of the time during which events described in the book of Daniel are said to have transpired, and that not one of these documents styles Belshazzar "king." They support, however, the statements of Daniel in that they give us independent evidence that there was a Belshazzar; that this Belshazzar was a son of Nabunaid, king of Babylon, and hence might be justly called in some sense the son of Nebuchadnezzar; and that, if he were, as he most probably was, the son of the king (Nabunaid) mentioned in the Cyrus-Nabunaid *Cylinder*, he may have given a feast to a thousand of his lords (Dan. v, 1), inasmuch as this son of the king is said on the same cylinder to have been accompanied by his lords;[1] and that Belshazzar most probably is treated as the heir-apparent in being given command of his father's armies, as Nebuchadnezzar had been by his father, and in being mentioned on the Abu-Habba *Cylinder* in conjunction with his father, just as Cambyses is mentioned along with Cyrus on the Cyrus *Cylinder* and elsewhere, and Seleukus along with his father Antiochus on the latter's *Clay-cylinder* inscrip-

[1] *Rabrevin* in Daniel, *rabute* on the cylinder.

tion.[1] Certain contract tablets show, also, that Belshazzar the son of the king was a man of varied business interests.

But in no one of them is he styled "king."

From this fact it has been concluded that he was not a king.

But this conclusion is a *non sequitur*, as we shall now attempt to prove.

Before discussing the testimony of the extra-biblical documents, I shall quote the passages of the book of Daniel which mention Belshazzar. There are, first, the fifth chapter, where we find him referred to as Belshazzar the king (v. 1), king Belshazzar (v. 9), the king (v. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 17, 18), Belshazzar (v. 2, 22, 29), and "Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans" (or "the Chaldean king") (v. 30); secondly, the seventh chapter, verse 1, where we have the phrase "the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon," and the eighth chapter, verse 1, where we have the heading, "In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar."

There is no doubt, then, that in the book of Daniel Belshazzar is called a "king."

But how is it with the contemporaneous records?

First, let us summon the biblical witnesses. There are none to be found. There is no book of the Bible, aside from Daniel, that can testify with reference to Belshazzar, because not one of them has anything to say relevant to this period in which Belshazzar lived. The last notice of the books of Kings concerns Evil-Merodach, the immediate successor of Nebuchadnezzar, and he died in 558 B.C. The books of Chronicles say nothing about the times of Belshazzar except what is found in the last four verses; but here we find no reference to

[1] Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 133.

Babylon, nor to any of its kings, but only to Persia and to Cyrus king of Persia, in connection with his decree for the return of God's people to Jerusalem. The book of Ezra begins with this decree, and mentions Nebuchadnezzar alone of all the kings of Babylon. The Psalms are silent with regard to the history of Babylon at this time as far as it concerns the kings, or the names of the kings. The only one of the prophets that might possibly have given us any testimony is Isaiah; but he again is silent, never mentioning any king of Babylon except Merodach-Baladan, who reigned in the latter part of the eighth century B.C.

So that, having no testimony at all to give it would have been utterly impossible for the biblical witnesses to have styled Belshazzar "king." Speaking more strictly, there are outside of Daniel no biblical witnesses to Belshazzar.

Secondly, let us examine the extra-biblical testimony. This consists of contract tablets, letters, hymns and incantations, and building and historical inscriptions.

(1) The contract tablets that mention Belshazzar are dated from the first to the twelfth year of the reign of Nabunaid. They all call Belshazzar "the son of the king," but never style him "king." We have no evidence in Daniel that Belshazzar was a king of any kind for more than three years, or king of Babylon for more than a year, or part of a year. Since Daniel says that he was slain when Babylon was captured in the 17th year of Nabunaid, it is evident that there is no necessary discrepancy between the tablets and Daniel's narrative. When the contracts were made, he was properly styled "the son of the king." When Daniel mentions him he had become a king, first of the Chaldeans

and next of Babylon. As Prof. Clay says,[1] "the fact that Belshazzar . . . was peculiarly identified with his father Nabonidus in his reign is illustrated by No. 39 of the Yale collection. This tablet reads as follows: In the month Tebet, day 15th, year 7th, of Nabunaid, king of Babylon, Shumukin says as follows: The great star Venus, the star Kiskaski, Sin and Shamash, in my dream I saw, and for the favor of Nabunaid, king of Babylon, my Lord, and for the favor of Belshazzar, son of the king, my Lord, may my ear hearken to them. On the 17th day of Tebet, the 7th year of Nabunaid, king of Babylon, Shumukin says as follows: 'The great star I saw, and for the favor of Nabunaid, king of Babylon, my Lord, and for the favor of Belshazzar, the son of the king, my Lord, may my ear hearken.'"

Here, Belshazzar is evidently in some official position, which entitles him to be associated with his father in an unusual and striking manner, that is similar to the way in which Cyrus and Cambyses, and later Antiochus and Seleucus, are associated on the inscriptions. The only difference is, that Belshazzar is not called king, whereas Cambyses and Seleucus are so called. In the tablet published by Mr. Pinches in the PSBA for January, 1916, an oath is taken in the names of Nabunaid and Belshazzar conjointly. All the evidence (and there is much of it) goes to show that only the names of gods and kings were used in oaths, the single exception being that of the city of Sippar.[2]

(2) Among the letters from the time of Nabunaid, one was written by Belshazzar himself. In it he calls himself simply Bel-shar-u [ṣur].[3]

[1] *Miscellaneous Inscriptions from the Yale Babylonian Collection*, pp. 55–57.

[2] See pp. 110, 111.

[3] *Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, xii, 15.

(3) The hymns and incantations that may possibly have been written in the reign of Nabunaid *never* mention the names of kings or of any other persons. Hence they could not be expected to have styled Belshazzar king.

(4) In the building inscriptions, Belshazzar is mentioned only in Col. ii, lines 24, 25, of the cylinders found in the corners of the *zikkurat* at Ur, where he is called "the first-born son, the darling of the heart" of Nabunaid.[1]

(5) Of the two historical inscriptions which cover any portion of the reign of Nabunaid, or Cyrus, the *Chronicle* states that a son of Nabunaid was in command of the army in Accad from the 7th to the 12th year of the king. This son was probably Belshazzar. No reason is known why he is not mentioned by name. The Cyrus *Cylinder* says that a son (?) of the king was killed at the capture of the citadel of Babylon by Gobryas. This son is not named in the inscription, nor is he given a title; but Daniel apparently calls him Belshazzar and says that he was in command of the Chaldean forces and entitles him "king." Cyrus would naturally refer to him merely as a son of the king, not having admitted his claim to be the *de jure* or *de facto* successor of his father Nabunaid.

Conclusion

The evidence given above shows that the author of Daniel does not contradict any "other assured witnesses of the Old Testament," when he represents Belshazzar as the king of Babylon under whom the citadel was taken. All that the book of Daniel necessarily implies when it says that Belshazzar was king of Babylon is

[1] Zehnpfund-Langdon, *Babylonische Königsinschriften*, p. 253.

that he was *de facto* king of the city after Nabunaid was taken prisoner. The evidence shows, also, that Belshazzar may have been called king of Babylon without ever having become king in his father's place over the empire of Babylonia; for in the last four months before the citadel was taken and after his father had surrendered, he was the only king whom the last defenders of Babylon could have acknowledged. His first year as king of Babylon is all that the book of Daniel mentions. He may have been king of the Chaldeans, or Chaldean king, for many years before, through the capture of his father Nabunaid by the Persians, he became king of Babylon.

Thus "the recollections of a late age," as they are presented in Daniel, will agree exactly with what the monuments tell us about the situation at the time when Babylon was taken by the Medes and Persians. Further, it has been shown by the evidence that a son of a king might be called a king; that Belshazzar may have been king at the same time that his father was; that there may have been two persons called king of Babylon at the same time; that a man might have been king of the Chaldeans, or king both of Babylon and of the Chaldeans; and that the years of the reign of a monarch might be dated in one way for his rule over one country, or people, and in another way for his rule over a second country, or people. Lastly, it has been shown that Belshazzar may legally have had two fathers; and that hence it is no objection to the accuracy of Daniel that he is called by him the son of Nebuchadnezzar, while the monuments call him the son of Nabunaid.

In short, the evidence fails to show that any of the above-named assumptions of the critics with regard to him are true.

CHAPTER VII

DARIUS THE MEDE

WHEN one asserts that the author of Daniel has "confused" events or persons, it is not enough for him to affirm that the author was thus confused. This confusion is a matter of evidence. With all due deference to the *opinion* of other scholars, I am firmly convinced that no man to-day has sufficient evidence to prove that the author of Daniel was confused. There are no records to substantiate the assertions of confusion. Neither is it clear to the critics nor can they make it clear to others, that the author of Daniel either did not understand the facts with regard to Darius the Mede, nor clearly express himself about them.

In this and the following chapters, it is my intention, then, to review the objections to the book of Daniel on the ground of what it says with regard to Darius the Mede and with regard to what it is asserted to say, or imply, with respect to the kingdom and people of the Medes. In this present chapter, the attempt will be made to show that the book of Daniel does not assert that Darius the Mede ever reigned over Babylon as an independent sovereign, and that Darius the Mede was probably the same as Gobryas the sub-king of Babylon, appointed by his overlord Cyrus. In connection with these questions will be considered the methods of dating documents used among the ancients in and about Baby-

lon, and the lack of all extra-biblical records referring to his reign, his office, age, name, race, and official acts.

Objections Stated

Among other objections it is asserted, that "the author of Daniel had an entirely false idea regarding the fall of Babylon under the Semitic dynasty. He evidently thought that Darius the Mede preceded Cyrus the Persian."[1] The author of Daniel "makes a Median ruler receive Babylon after the overthrow of the native dynasty, and then mentions later the historical Cyrus. We may suppose that the biblical writer believed that Cyrus succeeded to the empire of Babylon on the death of the Median Darius."[2]

Assumptions Involved

There are in these statements three assumptions: (1) that the biblical writer believed that Cyrus succeeded to the empire of Babylon on the death of the Median Darius; (2) that he makes a Median ruler receive the empire of Babylon after the overthrow of the native dynasty; (3) that the author of Daniel mentions Cyrus as if he were later than Darius the Mede.

Answer to Assumptions

I. Professor Prince bases the first of these statements upon Daniel vi, 29, which reads: "Daniel prospered in the kingdom of Darius and in the kingdom of Cyrus king of Persia." It is admitted that this might mean that Cyrus was the successor of Darius

[1] Prince, *Commentary on Daniel*, p. 127. [2] *Id.*, p. 54.

the Mede. It can be shown, however, that it may equally well mean that the two kings reigned contemporaneously and that the one may have been subordinate and subject to the other. In support of this statement the following evidence is advanced.

Systems of double dating were common in antiquity as they still are in many parts of the world. The thanksgiving proclamations of our presidents bear the double dates of the year of the republic and of the year of the Lord. The diplomas of our colleges bear the double date of the year from the founding of the college and the year of the Lord. So among the Assyrians we find that the contract tablets were dated at times from the year of the king and from the *limmu* (or archon, or mayor) of the city of Nineveh. Bezold refers to more than forty of the double-dated tablets.[1]

In the Babylonian documents from the time of the Arsacid, or Parthian, kings, we find a regular system of dual dates, one taken from the Arsacid era beginning 248 B.C., and the other from the Seleucid or Greek era beginning 312 B.C.[2]

Among the Phenicians, also, we find double or even

[1] See his *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets*, etc., p. 2005. Thus we have a tablet dated "the 8th of Airu in the *limmu* of Manzarni the governor (*am. pihat*) of the land of Kulbania in the year 22 of Sennacherib king of Assyria" (KB iv, 120). Another from "the 1st of Airu, the 23d year of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the *limmu* of Mannuki-Ramman deputy (*shakin*) of the city of Supiti" (*id.*, 122). Another from "the 27th of the month Ab in the *limmu* of the *turtan* of the city of Kumuh in the reign (*tarsi*) of Ashurbanipal king of Assyria" (*id.*, 134). Another "in the 3rd year of Shalmanasharid, king of Assyria, when Illuiada' was deputy (*shakin*) of Durilu" (*id.*, 158).

[2] Thus, to give two examples out of many, "in the year 130 [of the era] of king Arsaces, which is the same as the year 194 [of the era of the Greeks]." See ZA xv, 193. So, also, "in the year 145 of Arsaces, king of kings, which is the same as the year 209" (*id.*). See, also, numerous examples in Clay's *Morgan Collection*, Part II.

triple dates at times. Thus on a statue from Larnax Lapethos (Narnaka) there is an inscription which contains the date: "on the new moon of Zebah-shishshim, which is in the 11th year of the lord of kings Ptolemy, son of the lord of kings Ptolemy, which is the 33rd year of the people of Lapethos, while the priest to the lord of kings was 'Abd-'Ashtart, son of Ger-'ashtart governor (*rab*) of the land."[1]

So, among the Nabateans we find an inscription from Damascus having the double date "in the month Iyar, in the year 405 by the reckoning of the Romans [Greeks], which is the 24th year of king Rabel."[2] Compare, also, the double date in the inscription from Wady-Mukattib:[3] "The year 106 equivalent to the year of the three Cæsars."[4]

Among the Palmyrenes, we find the following quadruple dating to a decree of council:

In the month Nisan, the 18th day of the year 448, during the presidency of Bonne son of Bonne, son of Hairan, and the secretaryship of Alexander, son of Alexander, son of Philopater, secretary of the council and People, while the archons were Maliku, son of 'Olai, son of Mokimu, and Zebida, son of Nesa.[5]

Among the Syrians of Edessa, a double or triple dating seems to have been the rule. Thus we find the following dates: "In the year 513, in the kingdom of Septimus Severus, Emperor of Rome, and in the kingdom of Abgar the king, son of Ma'nu the king, in the month Tishri the second";[6] and "in the year 1514 of

[1] Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 82; see, also, the same, p. 78, and Luke iii, 1 f., for other examples.

[2] Cooke, *id.*, 249.

[3] Euting, 457.

[4] *Id.*, 261.

[5] *Id.*, 320.

[6] Assemani, B. O., i, 390.

the Greeks and the year 559 of the Arabs, while Unk Khan, that is, John the Christian king, was king over the people," etc.[1]

So, also, in the introduction to the *History of Addai the Apostle* in Syriac, we find the following date: "In the year 343 of the kingdom of the Greeks, in the kingdom of our Lord, Tiberius Cæsar, the Roman, and in the kingdom of Abgar, the king, the son of Ma'nu, the king, in the month Tisri, the first, on the 12th day." But Tiberius and Abgar were contemporaneous and the latter subject to the former.

But we have equally sure evidence not so far afield in the tablets from the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses; to wit, in Strassmaier's tablets of Cyrus, No. 16, the subscription reads: "In the tenth day of the month Siman of the first year of Cyrus, king of lands, Cambyses [being] king of Babylon."[2]

In tablet No. 81 of Cambyses, we read "Babylon, Kislev 25, year one of Kambushiya, king of Babylon, in his day and that of Kurash, his father, king of lands." Compare tablet 46: "Babylon, Duzu 25, year one of Kambushiya, king of Babylon, when (*enuma*) Kurashu, his father, [was] king of lands." Much like this is tablet 108 of VASD vi: "Babylon, the 19th day of Ab in the year one of Cambyses king of Babylon when (*enushu*) Cyrus was king of lands." In tablet 425, both Cyrus and Cambyses are called "king of Babylon, king of lands," but the tablet is unfortunately so broken as to render the connection illegible. In No. 426, "Kambushiya king of Babylon" is twice preceded by the phrase "king of lands," but unfortunately again, the name of the king is illegible. Still, it could scarcely have been any other than Cyrus. On tablet 42 occurs:

[1] Assemani, B. O., iii, 2, 495. [2] See the last clause on reverse.

"Babylon, Duzu 9, year one, of Kambushiya, king of Babylon, son of Kurash, king of lands."

It will be seen from these documents, that Cyrus and Cambyses were both given the title of king simultaneously, and this in the first year of Cyrus and again in the first year of Cambyses. It is to be presumed that Cambyses enjoyed his office and title as king of Babylon all the time that his father was king of the lands. But when did he become king of Babylon? The earliest tablet that mentions him under this title is the one given above which dates from the tenth day of the third month of the first year of Cyrus. How long before this he might have claimed the title is not certain; but in view of the fact that on the fourth of Nisan of the same year he is said in the *Annals* of Nabunaid[1] to have grasped the hand of Nebo, and since this ceremony was performed by the ruler at the new year's festival,[2] we can fairly conclude that Cambyses was in some sense king of Babylon from the fourth of Nisan of the year one of Cyrus.[3]

Having thus shown that there might be two kings of Babylon at the same time, we have only to show that Darius the Mede was the same as Gobryas in order to reconcile completely the statement of Daniel vi, 29, and the disclosures of the monuments. For we have seen above that Gobryas was Cyrus' governor (*amel pihateshu*) of Babylon as early at least as the 3rd day of the 8th month of Cyrus' accession year.[4] He was in command on the 11th of the same month, when Belshazzar was

[1] KB iii, ii, 135.

[2] See Muss-Arnolt's *Dict.*, p. 861.

[3] Especially may we so conclude in agreement with Winckler's statement on page xxxvi of his *Inscriptions of Sargon* that a king submitted to this ceremony in order to be rightly proclaimed as king of Babylon.

[4] Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chron.*, KB iii, ii, 135.

slain. It is most probable—there is nothing, at least, against the supposition—that he remained in command and at the head of the government, until Cambyses was installed as king of Babylon on the 4th of Nisan of the following year. The only question here, then, is: what would be the title in Hebrew and Aramaic of Gobryas as *amel pihate* of Babylon? In answer, we can only say that *malka* or *melek* (or *sar*) would be the only suitable words; and that Gobyras could rightly be called by this title as long as he was *amel pihate* of the city or province of Babylon, *i. e.*, from the 3rd day of the 8th month of Cyrus' accession year to the 3rd of Nisan of his first year.

In favor of Darius, the Mede, having been sub-king rather than the king of kings we notice the fact that, in Daniel vi, 1, it is said that Darius the Mede received the kingdom;[1] and in Daniel ix, 1, it is said that he "was made king (*homlak*) over the kingdom of the Chaldeans." How well this harmonizes with the statement of the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle*, where Gobryas is called Cyrus' governor! How well it suits the other statements of Daniel that he succeeded "the Chaldean king," "Belshazzar the king of Babylon"! Notice that not one word is said in any book of the Bible about Darius the Mede having been king of Persia, nor even of Media.

But it is said, that no contracts are dated from the reigns of Belshazzar and Darius the Mede. We should rather say, that none dated from their reigns have as yet been found. But this is no conclusive argument. For, notice, that out of the ten years of the contemporaneous reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses, only

[1] See Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, p. 419.

five tablets containing the dates with the names and titles of both kings in an unbroken and absolutely trustworthy text have been found, one from the first year; so-called, of Cyrus, and two from the first year, so-called, of Cambyses. How could we expect to find one from the four-month reigns of Belshazzar and of Darius the Mede? As a matter of fact, Strassmaier gives but twelve tablets from the end of the 4th month of the 17th year of Nabunaid when Nabunaid was captured, until the 11th of the 8th month, when Belshazzar was slain; and all of these are dated with the name of Nabunaid, except one bearing the name of "Cyrus king of Babylon and of the lands," and dated the 7th (or perhaps better the 4th) month of the accession year. Only one tablet bearing the name of Nabunaid has been found dated after that fatal night on the eleventh of the eighth month. It bears date "the 9th month [day not given] of the 17th year of Nabunaid king of Babylon."[1]

From the time when Gobryas was made governor of Babylon, until the 4th of Nisan of the ensuing year, we have beside this one tablet of Nabunaid, eight tablets dated with the name of Cyrus. All of these, with perhaps one exception (that of tablet 3, where the inscription is injured), have the title "king of lands" alone, thus suggesting that someone else was during this time king of Babylon. Besides, at no time, except during the co-regnancy of Cyrus and Cambyses, have we as yet found any evidence that the name of the governor (or sub-king) of Babylon, as well as, or instead of, that of the king of kings, was ever placed upon the contract tablets of Babylon.

Under the Persian kings, there were many governors

[1] Strassmaier, *Ins. von Nab.*, No. 1055.

of Babylon, such as Zopyrus, mentioned in Herodotus,[1] but not one Babylonian record bears the name of any one of them, at least in his official capacity.

In this connection, it might be said, that Nirgal-sharuṣur calls his father Nabu-balaṭsu-iḳbi king of Babylon; and yet we have no documents from the father's reign; and that a Nabunaid, probably the future king of that name, is once called "son of the king of the city." Furthermore, there are many kings of Babylon mentioned in the Assyrian monuments from whose reigns we have no records of any kind. Again, from the times of the last three kings of Assyria, Ashur-etil-ilani, Sin-shar-ishkun, and Sin-shum-lishir, only six or seven tablets and a few other records have come down to us. From the reigns of Xerxes the Second, Sogdianus, Arses, and Darius the Third, we have no Babylonian records as yet published. From the long reign of Artaxerxes II there are only three contract tablets thus far published.[2] Of the time from the accession of Alexander to the end of the Arsacids, a period of about 300 years, we have all told but a few score records of all kinds.

But it might be said that not merely have we no records coming from his reign, but also that the contemporaneous documents never even so much as refer to Darius. This will not be true, if we identify him with Gobryas, for he is named three times in the Cyrus *Chronicle.*[3]

[1] Bk. III, 160.

[2] The astronomical tables published by Kugler in his *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, pp. 76 and 80, must be added to these. The table on page 80 mentions Artaxerxes III also.

[3] A tablet bearing the name of Gobryas was published by Dr. Pinches in the *Expository Times* for April, 1915. It reads in part as follows: "At

Finally, it is admitted by all that Gobryas was governor, or viceroy (*malka* in Aramaic), over Babylon for a period after its conquest by Cyrus. Yet we have no contract, nor other document, dated from his reign. If then it were a valid argument against the *de facto* rule of Darius the Mede (over Babylon) to say that no records dated from his reign existed, so also would it be against the rule of Gobryas.

As to the *age* of Darius the Mede, when he became

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the end of the month Chisleu, 4th year of Cambyses, king of Babylon and the lands, Ardia, son of Nabu-bani-ahi, descendant of Remut-Ea, the man who is over the date-offerings of Ishtar of Erech, will take five talents of early fruit, and deliver them in the palace of the king, which is situated above E-anna, to Nabu-aha-iddina, the king's captain (lord of E-anna's contribution). If he does not bring (the amount), he will commit a sin against Gobryas, governor of Babylon (*hitu ša Gubaru, awel pihati Babili, inamdin*)."

Dr. Pinches well remarks that a failure to keep the contract will be a sin against Gobryas, the governor, and not against Cambyses; and that Gobryas was governor of Babylon as late as the 4th year of Cambyses, that is, thirteen years after his conquest of that city for Cyrus, though he may not have been governor during all of the intervening time. Dr. Pinches meets Tiele's objection to the appointment by Cyrus of a Mede as governor of Babylon by saying that the Babylonian *Chronicle* distinctly says that Gobryas before his conquest of Babylon was governor of Gutium, a part of ancient Media. It might be added to this, that other Medes are known to have been appointed to high commands; for Harpagus, the greatest of the generals of Cyrus, was a Mede; and Takmaspada and Datis, two of the most distinguished generals of Darius Hystaspis, were also Medes.

The close commercial relationship existing between Babylon and Media in the time of Cyrus, while Gubaru was governor of Babylon, is shown by the fact that in the 6th year of Cyrus a contract drawn up at Durgaraš, a city on the banks of the Euphrates a short distance above Sippar, calls for the payment of interest at Ecbatana, the capital of Media (see Strass., *Cyrus*, 227).

That Gubaru, governor of Ecbatana and Babylon, may have been governor of Syria also, is shown by a tablet from the 3rd year of Darius I, according to which Ushtanni was governor (*pihat*) of Babylon and of Syria (*ebir nari*) at the same time (see Strass., *Darius*, 82).

king, we know nothing absolutely explicit, except the statement of Daniel v, 31, that he was at that time about sixty-two years of age. With this accord the statements of Xenophon with regard to Gobryas, that when he went over to Cyrus, he had a marriageable daughter;[1] and that some time before this, his grown son had been killed by the king of Assyria (*i. e.*, Babylon).[2]

But someone will say, how do you explain the fact that Daniel gives the name Darius to a man whom the other documents call Gobryas? Many kings in ancient, as well as modern, times had two or more names; especially a pre-regnal and a regnal name. The Rameses II, king of Egypt, seems to be the same as the Sesostris of the Greeks.[3] So Solomon is the same as Jedidiah and Uzziah the same as Azariah. But coming nearer to the time of Cyrus, we find that Cyrus himself according to Strabo was called Agradetes before he became king, and Herodotus says that his first name was not Cyrus.[4] Josephus says that Artaxerxes was called Cyrus before he became king.[5] Darius Nothus and Artaxerxes III were both called Ochus before they became kings;[6] and the last Darius, Codomannus.[7] Why may not the name Darius have been assumed first of all by Gobryas the Mede, when he became king of Babylon? When Tiglath-Pileser was proclaimed king of Babylon, and

[1] *Cyropædia*, iv, vi, 10. [2] *Id.*, iv, vi, 2–7.

[3] On the Egyptian documents, Sesostris is found perhaps but twice, and then with different spellings, (*Setesn* and *Sesetsn*) among the almost innumerable titles and monuments of this king. (Brugsch and Bouriant, *Le Livre des Rois*, and the author's articles on *Royal Titles in Antiquity* in PTR for 1904–5.) Prof. Sethe regards this title as belonging to Usertesen.

[4] I, 113. [5] *Antiq.*, xi, vi, 1. [6] Ctesias, sec. 49.

[7] Diodorus Siculus, xxii, 5, 7.

the other Assyrian kings who adopted a policy similar to his, they often ruled as kings in Babylon under names different from those which they had as kings of Assyria. Thus Tiglath-Pileser IV of Assyria was Pul in Babylon.[1] Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria, was Ululai king of Babylon; and Ashurbanipal king of Assyria was possibly Kandalanu king of Babylon.

If we could only be sure as to the meaning of the word Darius, we might understand better why the name was given, or assumed, as a royal or princely appellation. The first part of the name may be the same as the New Persian *dará*, "king." Or the name may be derived from the Old Persian verb *dar*, "*to hold*," and may mean simply "holder of the scepter." According to Spiegel,[2] Bartholomæ,[3] and Tolman,[4] it comes from *dar*, "*to hold*," and a hypothetical *vahu* (Sansc., *vasu*), "good wealth"; hence "possessor of wealth." The title in either case would be appropriate to Gobryas as sub-king of Babylon, and also to the royal son of Hystaspis, who was by birth a king, second in rank and race to Cyrus alone.[5]

Or, Darius may be the Persian equivalent, or translation, of the Assyrian Gubaru. Herodotus says that it means ἑρξείης "*coercitor*," a sense to be derived from the Persian *dar* "*wehren*" or "*zwingen*." This derivation would favor the opinion that Gubaru in the sense of *Gewaltthäter* was a translation of Darius. An indication that favors their equivalence is to be found in the fact that the daughter of Gobryas, according to Xeno-

[1] Winckler, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 115, and Johns in PSBA for 1916.

[2] *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*, p. 81.

[3] *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 738.

[4] *Ancient Persian Lexicon*, pp. 83 and 107.

[5] Behistun Inscription, lines 2 and 3.

phon,[1] married Hystaspis, and that the son of Hystaspis was called Darius. This name is not met with among the royal descendants of Achæmenes before this time. If Darius Hystaspis was not called after an ancestor on his father's side, what more natural than that he should have been named after his maternal grandfather? While saying this, I am aware that there are difficulties connected with believing that the daughter of Gobryas could have been the mother of Darius Hystaspis; difficulties arising, however, from our ignorance of the time when Hystaspis married this wife, and from our ignorance of the age of Darius Hystaspis when he became king of Persia. For the marriage of Hystaspis and for the age of Darius when he became king, we have to depend upon the Greek historians; and the Greek historians give discrepant statements. Assuming, however, that Gobryas' daughter was Darius Hystaspis' mother, it would afford a ground for assuming that Gobryas was either the equivalent of Darius, or that Gobryas bore the name of Darius also. For it was customary to transmit names of fathers to their grandsons; *e. g.*, the grandfather of Cyrus was Cyrus, and both the father and the son of Cyrus were named Cambyses.[2] So Artaxerxes the Second was the son of Darius the son of Artaxerxes the First and Darius the Second was the great-grandson of Darius Hystaspis.[3]

Among the Achæmenidæ we have the names of five Dariuses, three of whom were kings, two kings named Xerxes, and three named Artaxerxes. Of the Seleucids, who succeeded them, there were seventeen who bore the name of Antiochus. All of the Arsacids,

[1] *Cyropædia*, viii, iv, 25. [2] Cyrus *Cylinder*, lines 20, 21.

[3] Inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon in Bezold, *Achämenideninschriften*, No. xvii, and Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*.

the successors of the Seleucids, took the regnal name of Arsaces. Of the twenty-nine kings of Edessa, ten were named Abgar and ten Ma'nu.[1]

While such examples do not prove that Gobryas was also named Darius, they do afford a presumption in favor of the probability that he was; and in view of the other indications in its favor, they should deter anyone from asserting that Gobryas and Darius the Mede were not the same.

But was Gobryas a Mede? He is called[2] the "*amel pihat mati Gutium*," *i. e.*, the governor of the land of Gutium. Now, according to the Cyrus *Cylinder* (line 13), Cyrus conquered Gutium (Ḳuti) the totality of the host of the Manda (*umman-Manda*). If Manda and Madai are the same, Gobryas their governor would probably be a Mede. Moreover, Gutium which certainly lay at the foot of the pass that led from Nineveh to Ecbatana, the capital of the Medes, must have been looked upon by the dwellers in Babylon as embracing Media also, since in the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle*, *Obv.*, B. 2, Ecbatana is called the capital of Astyages, the king of Gutium. So that it would be quibbling to deny that Gobryas might justly have been called a Mede.

There remains one point to be explained. Darius the Mede is said to have placed over the kingdom one hundred and twenty satraps, who should be in all the kingdom.[3] This accords with the statement of the *Annals* of Nabunaid, that Gobryas appointed *pihati* in Babylon. Notice that neither in the Bible, nor on the monuments, is anything said about the appointment of satraps in *Persia*, but in *Babylon* or *Chaldea*. Now,

[1] *The Doctrine of Addai*, by Phillips, note on p. 1.

[2] *Annals* of Nabunaid, Column iii, line 15.

[3] Dan. vi, 1.

since, in the first verse of Esther, it is said that in the time of Xerxes there were an hundred and twenty-seven provinces of the *Persian* empire, it has been assumed that in Daniel, there is a confusing of the Dariuses, and that this confusion is an evidence of late origin for the book.

But notice, first, that nothing is said in Daniel about "provinces"; and that even if there were, the word used in Esther for province, מדינה, is a difficult one to define closely. It may mean "province" or "satrapy," as in Esther i, 1. It may also mean "city," as commonly in Syriac and Arabic, and probably in Daniel iii, 1, 2, and 1 Kings xx, 14. In the latter place, it is said that Ahab gathered two hundred and thirty-two sons of the princes of the provinces.[1] It would be impossible to suppose that these *provinces* were of large extent. Would not "judicial district," or "*Gerichtsbezirk*" of whatever size, express the original meaning of *Medina?*

Again, the word *satrap* is ambiguous.[2] Taking Haug's derivation as the correct one, it meant originally simply "land protector." As to the character of the duties, and especially as to the extent of the land ruled over, the word itself gives us no clue. Besides, the writer of Daniel applies the term to the officers of Nebuchadnezzar,[3] so that, in his view at least, the term cannot have meant merely governor of a Persian satrapy. Moreover, according to Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, Cyrus appointed at first only six satraps; and these were sent to rule over only a small part of his dominions.[4] Darius Hystaspis says, in the Behistun Inscrip-

[1] *Naaray saray ham'deenoth.*

[2] For a full discussion of the term *satrap*, see Chap IX, iii, 2, (2).

[3] Dan. iii, 2, 3, 27.

[4] Bk. VIII, 6.

tion, that twenty-three countries were subject to him, and he mentions the names of the "lands."[1]

In the *Naqs-i-Rustam* inscription of the same Darius thirty-two different provinces are mentioned. In Strassmaier's *Darius*, 82, Ushtanni is called governor of Babylon and Syria (*ebir nari*) and in his inscription on *Cyrus*, 227, the interest of a sum of gold borrowed in the land of Ailtamma Durgash is said to have been payable in Ecbatana.[2] Now, Gobryas was governor of Gutium (which at this time included Ecbatana) when he conquered Babylon. When he became governor of Babylonia, his dominion would extend over all the country from the mountains of Media to the deserts of Arabia. If, like Ushtanni, he was satrap of Syria also, his government could extend to the Mediterranean. How many satraps, or *pihati*, he would find necessary to help govern such a territory at such a time of conquest, we might safely leave to his judgment of the circumstances.[3]

Conclusion

From the above evidence it is clear that the author of Daniel does not state, nor even intimate, that Cyrus succeeded Darius the Mede in the *empire* of Babylon. On the contrary, he indicates that Darius the Mede received from Cyrus his overlord the kingdom of Bel-

[1] Bezold's, *Achämenideninschriften*, p. 33, lines 4–7.

[2] The document is dated the 16th Airu, 6th year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of lands.

[3] Furthermore, if this extensive rule belonged to Gobryas, who can say that one of the *pihatis* was not a man named Darius, and that this Darius was not the *malka* of the city or province of Babylon?

Finally, in this connection, it may be remarked that the verb which is employed in the *Annals* of Nabunaid, in the phrase "Gobryas his [*i. e.*, Cyrus'] *pihatu* appointed *pihatis*," is of the same root as that

shazzar the Chaldean, which at best constituted but a small portion of the empire of the Persians. The monumental evidence shows the possibility of 120 satraps being installed in the province of Babylonia, alone. This evidence shows, also, that dual datings were common among the ancient nations, and that hence Cyrus and Darius the Mede may have been reigning at the same time, one as overlord and the other as sub-king, or viceroy. It is pure conjecture to suppose that the author of Daniel "evidently thought that Darius the Mede preceded Cyrus the Persian," or that he "believed that Cyrus succeeded to the empire of Babylon on the death of the Median Darius," rather than on its conquest from Nabunaid and Belshazzar.

employed of Ahab in 2 Kings xx, 15 where he is said to have mustered (*paqad*) the young men of the princes of the provinces. The same verb and form were employed by Darius Hystaspis in the Babylonian recension of the *Naqs-i-Rustam* inscription, line 22, where he says "Ahuramazda appointed me to be king over them."[1]

[1] *Anaku ina muḫḫishina ana sharruti iptekidanni.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE MEDES AND THE CONQUEST OF BABYLON

ONE of the worst errors of the modern critics is their supposing that one can posit the sources from which a writer who lived two thousand or more years ago *must* have derived his information. The complacence and self-assurance with which a knowledge of such sources is assumed might be dismissed with a smile, were it not that these suppositions are often put forward as arguments to prove a proposition. It seems marvelous that anyone to-day should fail to recognize that the ancient writers of history, whether sacred or profane, had access to many documentary sources that have long since ceased to exist. Many of these writers claim that they used such sources. Thus, in the introduction to his *Expedition of Alexander*, Arrian says that he made use of the works of Ptolemy, the first king of Egypt, and of Aristobulus, both of whom accompanied Alexander on his campaigns, and also of many others whose names he does not mention. Josephus, in his treatise *Contra Apion*, gives the names of about forty historians of different nations from whom he culled his statements; and he asserts again and again that a large part of the material used by him had been derived either by himself or by his authorities directly from written official records possessed by the Egyptians, Baby-

lonians, Tyrians, and Jews. Polybius gives the names of more than twenty historians from whom he derived his facts. Pliny the younger, in the first book of his Natural History, gives the names of the sources of each book that follows. For the fifth book, which contains his account of Palestine, he mentions the names of sixty historians and others from whom he derived his information; and for the whole thirty-seven books he names hundreds of authorities. It is noteworthy, also, that neither of the historians named as the sources of Arrian is mentioned by either Josephus, Polybius, or Pliny; and that each of the three last named gives among his sources the names of some who were not apparently used by the others. Further, it will be noted that many of the authorities used by Polybius, Josephus, and Pliny, for their information about Persia, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, are historians who lived and wrote long before the second century B. C., and hence were very near to the time of the events they narrate. Furthermore, both Polybius and Josephus affirm that they themselves had access to and frequently consulted official records that had been preserved to their time; and Josephus reiterates the fact that his chief authorities made use of the archives of the respective countries whose histories they had written. Thus of Manetho he says that "he was a man who was by birth an Egyptian, yet had made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he says himself, out of the sacred records."[1] Of Dius, he says that he was "one that is believed to have written the Phenician History after an accurate manner," and of Menander the Ephesian, that he "wrote

[1] *Cont. Ap.*, i, 14.

the acts that were done by the Greeks and Barbarians under every one of the Syrian kings; and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records."[1] Of Berosus, he says that "he was by birth a Chaldean, well known to the learned, on account of his publication among the Greeks of the Chaldean books of astronomy and philosophy. This Berosus, therefore, following the most ancient records of the nations, gives us a history."[2] Moreover, many other eminent authors who wrote in the Greek language were known to Josephus, such as Ephorus (400 to 330 B. C.), Theopompus (380 to 330 (?) B. C.), Hecatæus (6th–5th cent. B. C.), Herodotus (464 to 424 B. C.), and Thucydides (471–400 B. C.). A certain Castor, also, is named by him as one of his authorities, a man so utterly unknown to the classical writers that his name even is not given in Liddell and Scott's Greek Dictionary, in the Encyclopedia Britannica, nor in the classical dictionaries.

From all this, it will be perfectly evident that all educated men living in and before the second century B. C. must have had access to so much information with regard to the number and history of the Babylonian and Persian kings, as to render it highly improbable that any writer of the second century B. C. could have been as ignorant of the history of Persia as certain critics represent the writer of Daniel to have been. Besides, if he himself had been as ignorant of the facts about which he wrote as the critics represent him to have been, how could he have palmed off his work on the Jews of that period as genuine and authentic? According to the critics themselves, it was the time of the two Ben-Siras, and of the authors of Tobit, Judith, First

[1] *Cont. Ap.*, i, 17.

[2] *Cont. Ap.*, i, 19.

Maccabees, the Letter of Aristeas, and many other literary compositions, so that in such an atmosphere, it is not likely that an author of the ability of the writer of the Book of Daniel could have had no knowledge of the history of Persia, except what he learned from the Jewish Scriptures; and it is especially unlikely that the Jews of that time would have failed to recognize the alleged historical inaccuracies of the book, did they exist; and to reject it as they did reject Tobit, Judith, and other works.

But after having made this great and yet absolutely unprovable assumption that it can now be known what sources of information a writer of the second century B. C. may have had before him, the critics go a step farther and assert that the author of Daniel can have had but a "dim consciousness" of the events of the sixth century B. C., of which he on his part assumes to speak. Now, whatever opinion one may have with regard to the writer of the book of Daniel, it seems certain that the very last impression one could derive from the book itself would be that the writer himself felt that he had a dim and uncertain knowledge of the events which he narrates. Few writers are more vivid, more circumstantial, or more given to detail. Few writings bear on their face clearer indication of being the narration of an eye-witness. No document, whether a fictitious or a real story could more manifestly purport to contain the actual words and deeds of the chief actor around whom the plot centered. The writer was certainly not oppressed with the sense of having but a dim consciousness of the things of which he writes. Perhaps, after all, it is we to-day who have the dim consciousness of the times and events and persons that he describes so graphically,—a dim consciousness,

a very limited and uncertain knowledge, of what transpired at the time when the sun of Babylon's glory rose in splendor under Nebuchadnezzar, or when it set amid the shame and confusion of Nabunaid and his first-born son. Until this dimness be dispelled and this darkness enlightened by documentary evidence we shall be compelled to believe the writer of Daniel most probably knew more about the subject than any one of us to-day with the evidence at our disposal can ever possibly know. In view of the fact that the works of Herodotus, Ctesias, Berosus, Menander, and many others which treated of the affairs of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, may have been known to a writer of the second century B. C., how can any man have the assurance to assert that the author of Daniel must have believed that the Medes without the assistance of the Persians must have captured Babylon? How can anyone know that he derived his information as to the capture of Babylon from the slender hints of Isaiah xiii and xxi and Jeremiah li alone, that the author of Daniel possessed but a dim consciousness of the fact that the Persian empire had grown out of the Median kingdom, or that a Darius really did capture Babylon? In the name of scholarship and for the sake of truth and righteousness, it is time to call a halt on all those who presume to a knowledge which they do not possess, in order to cast reproach upon an ancient writer, as to whose sources of information and knowledge of the facts they must be ignorant and whose statements they cannot possibly fully understand, nor successfully contradict.

It need hardly be stated that the foregoing paragraphs are concerned primarily with the defense of the historicity, rather than of the early date of Daniel. The

reader, however, will recognize that in the subject discussed in this chapter, the *historicity* is the principal point of attack, and not the date. For if the author of Daniel is incorrect in what he says about the relations of the Medes to the conquest of Babylon it makes no material difference when his account of it was written, —whether in the sixth or in the second century B. C. But if the work is correct historically, the way is then open to discuss the date of the composition. If it can be shown that there is no sufficient reason for denying the correctness of its historical statements, those who believe in the possibility of miracles and predictive prophecy will be free to accept the early date of its composition. If on the other hand it can be shown that the book is wrong in its statements regarding ordinary historical events, there will be no solid ground upon which to base a defense of its miracles and predictions, nor of its authenticity and early date. The historical statements may be true without being authentic. They cannot be authentic unless they are trustworthy.

In this chapter, then, the discussion will be confined to the objections to the historicity of Daniel based upon what he is assumed to say about the connection of the Medes with the conquest of Babylon.

Objection Stated

That the Medes must have captured Babylon is derived from Isa. xiii, 17, xxi, 2, and Jer. li, 11, 28, in connection with which the author possessed a dim consciousness of the fact that the Persian empire had grown out of the Median kingdom and that once *a* Darius really did capture Babylon.[1]

[1] Cornill, pp. 384, 385.

This sentence is a possible, or even probable, explanation of how a writer of the second century B.C. might have said that Babylon was taken by the Medes. But as regards the book of Daniel, there are four assumptions in it.

Assumptions Involved

It is assumed first, that Daniel says specifically that the Medes, apart from the Persians, conquered Babylon; secondly, that he derived this information from certain passages in Isaiah and Jeremiah; that, thirdly, the author had a dim consciousness of the fact that the Persian empire had grown out of the Median kingdom; and fourthly, that the writer of Daniel had as the ground of his statements with regard to Darius nothing more substantial to build on than a dim consciousness that once *a* Darius really did capture Babylon.

Answer to Assumptions

1. With regard to the first of these assumptions, there can be no doubt that the writer of Daniel might justly have said that Babylon was taken by the Medes, inasmuch as Gobryas, governor of Gutium (which, as will be shown below, was in part, at least, coextensive with Media), was the general who while commanding an army under Cyrus took Babylon for him. But as a matter of fact Daniel says nothing of the kind. He says simply that after the death of Belshazzar the Chaldean king, Darius the Mede, received his kingdom;[1] and again that Darius was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans.[2] But on the other

[1] Chapter v, 31. [2] IX, 1.

hand Daniel does not say that the Persians under Cyrus took Babylon without the assistance of the Medes. The truth is, it was the Medes *and* Persians who conquered Babylon. If it be granted, as Professor Sayce, followed by Winckler, has contended that Astyages was not a Mede but a Scythian; then, Cyrus the Persian, and Harpagus the Mede, rebelled against the domination of the alien Scythian, and Cyrus became king of the united peoples, the Medes and Persians, from that time on one and inseparable. This view harmonizes with the facts recorded on the monuments and with the statements of the Scriptures and of the classical writers.[1]

[1] There is abundant evidence from the monuments to show that Gutium was in part at least coextensive with Media. For example, the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle* states expressly that Gubaru, the governor of Gutium, captured the citadel of Babylon. According to Winckler, in his *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (p. 48), Gutium was north of Anzan and Susa, and corresponded substantially to Armenia south of Lake Van, though in his *Untersuchungen*,[1] he says it was the country between the Euphrates and Tigris.[2] Again he renders it by "North Countries." In fact, throughout all the changes of population, the part of the world north of Assyria was known to the inhabitants of Babylon and Assyria as Gutium. In the time of Naram-Sin, the king of Gutium made a dedicatory offering in Babylonia which contains an inscription written, like those of Naram-Sin, in Babylonian. Ashurbanipal, in his *Annals* (Col. iii, 103), speaks of the kings of the land of Guti. Gubaru, governor of Gutium, may justly have been called governor of the Medes, or king of Guti in the sense employed by Ashurbanipal.

A strong argument in favor of Gutium's having been regarded by the Babylonians as embracing Media is that Media is never mentioned on the Babylonian monuments before the time of Xerxes, that Gutium designates the region of Media in the only original Babylonian document mentioning that part of the world; and that on the other hand, Gutium is not mentioned on the Behistun Inscription, but Mada denotes the region denoted earliar by the Babylonian word Gutium. A modern illustration of different names for the same country is Germany, Alle-

[1] Page 131. [2] *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, page 124.

Inasmuch, then, as Herodotus[1] makes Astyages to have been king of Media and his capital city to have been Ecbatana and the revolted troops to have been Medes; and as the inscriptions make him to have been king of Guti, or Gutium, the revolted troops to have been the host of Manda, his capital city to have been Ecbatana, and Gobryas to have been the successor of Astyages in the government of Gutium, though as subordinate to Cyrus the conqueror of Astyages; and finally, inasmuch as this Gobryas the successor of Astyages king of Media, or of the host of the Manda, is said in the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle* to have captured Babylon for Cyrus; it is not far fetched to suppose that Gobryas may have been called by his subjects, at least in the Aramean tongue, the king of the Medes, and that his soldiers, his subjects, and himself, may have been called in the same tongue *Medes*.

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magne, Deutschland; an ancient, Hellas, Græcia, land of the Javanites. A more ancient still is Elam, which appears in other languages under the names of Uwaga, Hatamtup, and Susiana. Again, it seems clear from the references to the destruction of Astyages by Cyrus, which we find in the Babylonian documents, that Gutium and Media were the same country in the estimation of the writers of those documents. Thus, in the Cyrus' Clay Cylinder, 13, it is said that "Marduk caused the land of Kuti (Guti) the totality of the host of the Manda, to bow at the feet of Cyrus." In the Abu Habba Cylinder, we are informed that Astyages the king of the host of Manda, together with his land and the kings his helpers, were no more, because the host had been scattered by the small army of Cyrus king of Anzan, the little vassal of Astyages; and that the latter had been captured and taken prisoner to the former's land.[2] In the Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle* it is said that the troops revolted against Astyages and that he was captured and delivered into the hands of Cyrus, who advanced to Ecbatana the capital city, where he took silver, gold, and other spoils and carried them to the land of Anshan. Later in the same, it is said that Gobryas was the governor of Gutium or Ḳuti.

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[1] Bk. I, 107–130.

[2] Col. i, 11–38.

It must be remembered here that the little we know about the Medes and Persians shows that there was a close relationship existing between them. According to the biblical and Greek records, they were substantially one people in race and language. On the Behistun Inscription, Darius treats the Medes and no others as the equals of the Persians. Thus in sections i, 10, 11, he speaks of Persia and Media and the other provinces. In section ix, 13, he says, "there was no one, neither Persian nor Mede nor anyone from our family, who would have wrested the kingdom from Smerdis the Magian till I came." The seat of Smerdis' kingdom was at "Sikayanvatish in the province of Nisaya in Media." Again, in section i, 14, Darius says, "I placed the people in this place, Persia, Media, and the other provinces." Again, in ii, 14, he sends a Persian and a Median army under the command of Takhmaspada, a Median, against an uprising in Sagartia. Again, in iii, 6, he sends out the Persian and the Median army against an uprising in Persia itself. In iii, 14, he sends an army against Babylon under command of a Median, Vindafra by name.

In the Babylonian contract tablets of the reign of Xerxes, we find Media mentioned along with Persia in the titles of a number of the inscriptions. For example, in the *Acts of the 8th Congress of Orientalists*, Strassmaier has given a number of contracts from the time of Xerxes. In No. 19, the subscription reads, "Xerxes, king of Persia and Media"; and in No. 20, "Xerxes, king of Persia and of the land of the Medes." So also, in vol. iv, No. 193 and No. 194, of the inscriptions published by the *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft* of Berlin, we find "Xerxes, (king) of Persia and Media, king (?)

of Babylon (?) and of the lands."[1] Evetts, No. 3, reads: "Xerxes, king of the land of Persia and of the land of the Medes." In the *Morgan Collection*, vol. i, 85, we read: "Xerxes, king of the city of Persia (and) of the city of Media," city being used for country.[2]

In the Greek writers of the fifth century B. C. the ordinary designation for the people and kings was Mede, not Persian.[3]

2. The second assumption is that the author of Daniel derived most of his information about the conquest of Babylon by the Medes from certain passages in Isaiah and Jeremiah. These passages read as follows:

"Behold I shall stir up the Medes against them, which shall not regard silver" (Is. xiii, 17). "Go up, O Elam, besiege, O Media, according to the sighing thereof have I made thee to cease" (Is. xxi, 2). "Make bright the arrows, gather the shields Jehovah hath stirred up the spirit of the Medes. For his device is against Babylon to destroy it" (Jer. li, 11). "Prepare the nations against her, the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz. . . . Prepare against her the nations with the kings of the Medes, the captains thereof and the rulers thereof . . . for every purpose of Jehovah shall be fulfilled against Babylon" (Jer. li, 28, 30).

It will be noted (1) that the nations mentioned in these prophecies are Elam, Media, Ararat (*i. e.*, Armenia), Minni, and Ashkenaz; of which all except

[1] So also in Evetts, No. 4, and VSD 118 and VI, 181.

[2] See the author's article on the "Titles of the Kings of Persia" in the *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, Berlin, 1915.

[3] See, for example, Herodotus and Thucydides, in numerous places, and the writer's articles on the "Titles of Kings in Antiquity," in the *Pres. and Ref. Review* for 1904–5.

the last are frequently named on the monuments from the time of Shalmanezer III to that of Ashurbanipal inclusive.[1]

Of these countries Daniel mentions Elam as a province of Belshazzar (viii, 2), and speaks several times of the Medes and of Darius the Mede; but he never speaks of the land, kingdom, or kings of the Medes, nor of their captains and rulers. Neither does he mention Minni, Ararat, or Ashkenaz. On the other hand, he refers to Persia, Javan, Chaldea, Shushan, Ulai, and the plain of Dura, which are not mentioned in the passages of Isaiah and Jeremiah cited by Prof.

[1] Elam is mentioned frequently in the inscriptions from the time of Isaiah (*e. g.*, by Sargon, KB ii, 40; by Sennacherib, KB 102, 104, 106; by Esarhaddon, KB 128, 144; by Ashurbanipal, KB ii, 180–214 passim). Jeremiah speaks of the kings of Elam (xxv, 25), and of the impending destruction of its king and princes (xlix, 35–39). Nebuchadnezzar does not mention it. Nabunaid refers once to the fruit of the land of Elam; and once to Ishtar the mistress of Elam who dwells in Susa (Zehnpfund-Langdon, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, p. 276, iii, 41, and 292, iii, 15). Darius Hystaspis put down a rebellion in it, which occurred shortly after his accession (Beh. Insc. § 16), and it is frequently mentioned by the Persian kings as a province of their empire.

Media is frequently named on the Assyrian inscriptions from Shalmanezer III onward (KB i, 142, 180, ii, 7, 18, 128, 132, 146). It occurs many times in the Behistun Inscription in the Babylonian recension as well as in Persian and Susian. It is found also on some Babylonian tablets from the first years of Xerxes. Commonly elsewhere on the Babylonian documents, Gutium is used to denote what the Assyrians call Media (*e. g.*, on stele Nab.-Con. iv, 21, and Cyr.-Cyl., 13 and 31). A third designation for the country is "the land of Ecbatana" (Nab.-Cyr. Chronicle, B. 3, 4, and Strass. Cyr., 60, 16).

Ararat as the name of Armenia is common in Assyrian and Babylonian from Shalmanezer's time to that of Darius Hystaspis (KB i, 144, 164, ii, 6, 18, 146; Behistun, §§ 26, 52). Minni occurs in Assyrian from the time of Shalmanezer to Ashurbanipal (KB i, 146, 178, ii, 128, 178).

If Ashkenaz be the same as Asquzai, it is mentioned twice in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (KB ii, 146. See Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, i, 283, and Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, Nos. 23–35).

Cornill. In view of these facts, how can it be said that Daniel derived his information as to the conquest of Babylon from these sources?

3. The third assumption admits that the author of Daniel knew that the Persian empire had grown out of the Median kingdom. But Prof. Cornill asserts that this knowledge was a "dim consciousness." As to what he means by this phrase he does not enlighten us, nor does he give any examples, nor any proof of it. If he means that the author of Daniel says little explicit about the relations existing between Media and Persia, it will be admitted. Daniel, indeed, speaks of the laws of the Medes and Persians,[1] and says that Belshazzar's kingdom was divided and given to the Medes and Persians,[2] and interprets the two horns of the ram that was seen in his vision as denoting the kings of Media and Persia, both horns springing from the same head, but the Persian being later and higher than the Median.[3] He says also that Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian[4]; and speaks of the first year of Cyrus the king[5] and of the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia,[6] of the first year of Darius the Mede,[7] and of the first year of Darius the son of Xerxes of the seed of the Medes, who had been made king over the realm of the Chaldeans.[8] He says, further, that this Darius the Mede received the Chaldean Kingdom, when he was about sixty-two years of age,[9] and that he organized this kingdom for governmental purposes.[10] Finally, he speaks of a "prince of Persia"[11] and of "kings of Persia."[12]

But all this does not imply that he had a dim con-

[1] VI, 8, 12, 15. [2] V, 28. [3] VIII, 3, 20. [4] VI, 29.
[5] I, 21. [6] X, 1. [7] XI, 1. [8] IX, 1.
[9] VI, 1. [10] VI, 2–4. [11] X, 13, 20. [12] X, 13, xi, 20.

sciousness that the Persian empire had grown out of the Median kingdom—a subject which he does not propose to state or discuss—but rather an exact knowledge of the fact that the kingdom of Darius the Mede had been established on the ruins of the kingdom of the Chaldeans which had been conquered from Belshazzar. For notice (1) that the author of Daniel does not call anyone "king of Media" or "king of the Medes"; (2) that he always puts the Medes before the Persians, as if he knew that the Median hegemony had preceded the Persian; (3) that Darius the Mede is said to have received the kingdom of Belshazzar the Chaldean; (4) that he makes Cyrus the Persian to be the real successor to the power of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (i, 1, 18, 21, vi, 29); (5) that he does not purport to discuss the origin of the kingdom of Persia, nor its relation to Media; (6) that he gives the years of the reigns of Belshazzar, Darius, and Cyrus, and other items of information, which attest the honesty of his intentions and challenge the denial of his veracity; and (7) that no evidence has been produced by Prof. Cornill to show that he was either dishonest in his intentions, or unveracious in his statements.

4. The fourth assumption of Professor Cornill is that the writer of Daniel had nothing but a dim consciousness that once a Darius really did conquer Babylon. In the following chapters it will be shown that this assumption is a pure assertion without any proof and incapable of proof.

Conclusion

The above discussion has shown that the book of Daniel does not state that the Medes conquered Baby-

lon apart from the Persians; nor that the Persians conquered Babylon without the assistance of the Medes. Hence, there is no cause for assuming that the writer had nothing but a dim consciousness that once *a* Darius did conquer Babylon, inasmuch as the statements of the book are in absolute harmony with the facts made known from other sources.

CHAPTER IX

DARIUS THE MEDE AND THE KINGS OF PERSIA

In this and the following chapters, will be considered a number of objections against the book of Daniel on the allegation that it is clear that the author was deficient in knowledge or confused in thought. I shall endeavor to show that these objections are based, not upon what the author really says, but upon false interpretations of what he says. These false interpretations arise partly from wrong definitions of terms, partly from a misinterpretation of the meaning of the author's statements, and partly from the pure creative imagination of the objectors. To the first of these belong the objections which are based upon wrong definitions of such words as satrap, peoples, nations, and tongues; to the second, the assumptions as to the number of the kings of Persia that were known to the author of Daniel, and that are mentioned in the Old Testament; to the third, the assertions that Darius the Mede was a reflection into the past of Darius Hystaspis, that the author confused Darius Hystaspis with Xerxes, and with Darius Codomannus and that he states that Alexander the Great repulsed an attack upon Greece made by the last king of Persia.

Objections Stated

When we find him (*i.e.*, Daniel) attributing to the Persian empire a total of only four kings (Dan. xi, 2; comp., also,

vii, 6), this clearly arises from the fact that by accident the names of only four Persian kings are mentioned in the O. T.; when we find that he makes the fourth of these exceedingly rich, provoke a mighty war against Greece, and in a triumphant repulse of this attack by the Greek king Alexander the Great to be defeated and dethroned—it is clear that the author has confused Xerxes and Darius Hystaspis by making them one and the same person, and mistaken the latter for Darius Codomannus.[1]

In 6:1, the temptation to suspect a confusion (of Darius the Mede) with Darius Hystaspes—who actually organized the Persian empire into "satrapies" though much fewer than 120—is strong. Tradition, it can hardly be doubted, has here confused persons and events in reality distinct.[2]

"Darius the Mede" must be a reflection into the past of Darius Hystaspes, father—not son—of Xerxes, who had to reconquer Babylon in B. C. 521 and again in 515, and who established the system of satrapies, combined, not impossibly, with indistinct recollections of Gubaru (or Ugbaru), who first occupied Babylon in Cyrus' behalf, and who, in appointing governors there, appears to have acted as Cyrus' deputy.[3]

Dr. Driver further cites Prof. Sayce's *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 524–537, as showing "that the representations in the book of Daniel are inconsistent with the testimony of the inscriptions," and "that the aim of the author was not to write history, in the proper sense of the word, but to construct, upon a historical basis, though regardless of the facts as they actually occurred, edifying religious narratives (or '*Haggadah*')."

[1] Cornill, *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*, pp. 385, 386.
[2] Behrmanns, *Daniel*, p. xix.
[3] Driver, *Lit. of the O. T.*, p. 500.

Assumptions Involved

There are here the following assumptions:

I. That the author states that the Persian empire had a totality of only four kings.

II. That only four Persian kings are mentioned in the Old Testament.[1]

III. That Darius the Mede is represented as absolute ruler of the Persian empire and as having divided it into 120 satrapies.[2]

IV. That the author of Daniel supposed Xerxes the Great to be the father and not the son of Darius Hystaspis.[3]

V. That the author of Daniel confused Darius the Mede with Darius Hystaspis.[4]

VI. That Darius the Mede must have been a reflection into the past of Darius Hystaspis.[5]

VII. That the author confused Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes by making them one and the same person.[6]

VIII. That he mistakes Darius Hystaspis for Darius Codomannus.[7]

IX. That the author states that the attack of the fourth king of Persia on Greece was repulsed by Alexander the Great.[8]

Answer to the Assumptions

I. The author does not say that the Persian empire had only four kings. Daniel xi, 2, which Prof. Cornill cites to show this, reads as follows: "And now will I show thee the truth. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer

[1] See p. 165. [2] See p. 172. [3] See p. 199. [4] See p. 200.
[5] See p. 221. [6] See p. 264. [7] See p. 272. [8] See p. 274.

than they all: and when he is waxed strong through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece." Daniel vii, 6, with which Prof. Cornill compares xi, 2, reads: "After this I beheld, and, lo, another, like a leopard, which had upon its back four wings of a bird; the beast had also four heads; and the dominion was given to it."

1. It is obvious that before this second verse can even be considered in this connection, it must be clearly shown that it really refers to the Persian empire at all. But this cannot be clearly shown. It will only be regarded as referring to the Persian empire by those who believe that the third kingdom of Daniel's prophecies is the Persian, rather than the Grecian. But this itself is an assumption, which, while it may be accepted by some, cannot be proven. There are in our opinion stronger reasons for holding that the leopard (or panther) of the verse cited refers to Alexander the Great than to the Persian empire. The lion of verse 4 would then be the Babylonian empire; the bear, the Persian; and the leopard, the Macedonian. Certainly, if we accept the view that Darius the Mede reigned contemporaneously with Cyrus the Persian as a sub-king under him, there seems to be no reason for speaking of a separate Median empire as set forth in any of the visions of Daniel. If such a separate Median kingdom be ruled out, the leopard must refer to Alexander's rapid conquests. The number four, used with reference to the wings and heads of the beast, cannot be pressed further than the figure of the vision allows. Daniel himself merely makes them a part of the wings of the flying and devouring leopard, to which dominion was given.

If this interpretation of vii, 6, be admitted, it is obvi-

ous that it cannot be brought in to show Daniel's opinion as to the number of the Persian kings. But, even if Dan. vii, 6 did refer to the Persian empire, the four wings and four heads cannot possibly be used to show that Daniel believed that the empire of the Persians had only four kings. We repeat, these four wings and four heads most naturally refer to the rapidity of the movements and to the voracity of the beast. The assumption that they refer to four kings (an assumption which is not the obvious nor the most natural interpretation), and the further assumption that the leopard refers to the Persian empire, cannot be used to support the assumption that the author of Daniel "attributes to the Persian empire a total of only four kings."

2. As to Daniel xi, 2, it is certain that if the writer saw his vision in the first year of Darius the Mede, who was a sub-king, or contemporary of Cyrus, king of Persia, and there were still to be three kings of Persia and the fourth was to stir up all against Greece, that the three kings would be in the order of their reigns Cambyses, the Pseudo-Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspis. The fourth king would be either Darius Hystaspis, or his son and successor Xerxes. It would be the former if we begin to count with Cyrus as first; and Xerxes, if we count Cambyses as first. It seems, then, that the most likely interpretation would make Darius Hystaspis to be the fourth king. This would agree best with the history of the Persian expedition against Greece as recorded in Herodotus,[1] where it is stated positively that it was Darius who was the instigator of the first war against Greece which culminated at Marathon; and that he prepared before his death for the second expedition, which was repulsed at Salamis and Platæa, Xerxes

[1] Bk. VI.

himself being disinclined to the war.[1] To represent Darius Hystaspis as the arranger of these expeditions against Greece, harmonizes with the alleged motive of Alexander's subsequent expedition against Persia. For Quintus Curtius,[2] says that the cause of his attack on Persia was said by Alexander in a letter to Darius III to be that Darius I had devastated the Ionian colonies of the Greeks, had crossed the sea with a great army and borne arms against Macedonia and Greece, and that Xerxes had come again with a force of cruel barbarians to fight against them. Arrian, also, in his history of the expedition of Alexander[3] gives a letter to Darius Codomannus in which Alexander says that the cause of his expedition against the Persians was to take vengeance on them because their "ancestors having come into Macedonia and the rest of Greece had entreated them evilly." If Alexander could thus connect his expedition in B. C. 332 with the expeditions of Darius and Xerxes of 490–480 B. C., and rightly so, why may not the prophet in vision have seen them in this close connection? At any rate, the placing of the counter movements of the two empires in juxtaposition, whether by prediction or *post eventum*, would not prove that the author of Daniel was ignorant of the other kings of Persia, any more than it would prove that Alexander himself, or his historians, Curtius and Arrian, were thus ignorant. No one that knew the history of the Persian expeditions against Greece could well avoid placing them in contrast with the Greek expedition against Persia.

II. Prof. Cornill states that only four Persian kings

[1] *Id.*, Bk. VII, 5.
[2] *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, Bk. IV, § 2.
[3] Bk. II, § 14.

are mentioned in the Old Testament and implies that the author of Daniel supposed from this that Persia had had only four kings.[1]

But it is impossible to prove that only four Persian kings are mentioned in the Old Testament. It must be admitted that only four different *names* of Persian kings are found there. But since there were certainly three kings of Persia who bore the name of Darius, let alone others of the name who were not kings, such as Darius the son of Xerxes mentioned in Ctesias,[2] it will have to be shown that the author of Daniel was ignorant of more than one Darius, before Prof. Cornill's contention can be admitted. The sangfroid with which this can be asserted without any proof to establish the assertion is astonishing, to say the least. Of course, we admit that such ignorance on the part of the author of Daniel is possible, but affirm that it is very far from probable, and most certainly far removed from such a degree of certainty as would enable any cautious historian to calmly state it as a fact, without even so much as a qualifying particle. If, as Prof. Cornill believes, we know nothing about the author of the book of Daniel, except that we are compelled "to recognize in Daniel the work of a pious Jew, loyal to the law, of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who was animated with the desire to encourage and support his persecuted and suffering comrades in the faith by the promise that the kingdom of heaven had nearly arrived,"[3] how can he be so certain as to his ignorance of either Jewish or profane history? The author, whoever he was, whenever he wrote, must have had some means of information as to the history

[1] See p. 160.

[2] *Exc. Pers.*, § 20.

[3] *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*, page 388.

of Babylon and Persia other than that to be derived from Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and Nehemiah-Ezra, or any other known book or writer of the Jews who lived before 165 B. C.; else, how could he have known there was a Belshazzar at all, especially since his name even is not found in Herodotus, Xenophon, Ctesias, Berosus, or any other known writer sacred or profane? As to Nebuchadnezzar, also, if the author got his information from Jeremiah, how can he have said that he made a campaign against Jerusalem in the 3rd year of Jehoiakim, if, as some critics contend, Jeremiah states, or implies, that his first expedition against that city was in Jehoiakim's 4th year? And if Jeremiah and Ezekiel were the sources of his information, what becomes of the argument against the early date of Daniel, based upon his manner of spelling the name Nebuchadnezzar?[1] The early Greek writers, so far as they are known to us, cannot have been the source of his knowledge; for they do not even so much as mention the name of Nebuchadnezzar.

As to his knowledge of Darius the Mede, moreover, the author cannot have derived his information from the Jewish writings, nor from the profane, so far as we know; for there is not one of them who mentions such a man, at least under the name of Darius, and with the appellative "the Mede." If writings existed in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, which described the times from Nabopolassar to Cyrus, then they must either have mentioned Darius the Mede, or not. If they did mention him, the author of Daniel would on this supposition and to this extent be confirmed as to

[1] Nebuchadnezzar may be the Aramaic translation of the Babylonian Nebuchadrezzar. *Kudur* in the sense of worshiper is the same in meaning as the Aramaic *kedin* or *kedan*.

his statements with reference to him. If they did not mention him, then how can this author have supposed that he might console the Jews of his time with an easily exposed fiction about an imaginary king? The fortunate escape from deadly perils of a Don Cæsar, a David Balfour, a Count of Monte Christo, or any other hero of fiction can have no comfort for a miserable person. The divine intervention in behalf of Æneas, as portrayed in the Æneid, would not inspire with the expectation of a like divine assistance anyone who did not believe in the reality of the wanderings and deliverance of Anchises' son. Just so, a supposititious deliverance of an imaginary Daniel from the tyrannical edicts of a king of whose very existence the Jews were not aware, would be a poor consolation in the midst of the cruel torments of the atrocious Epiphanes. The critic draws too much on our credulity, when he asks us to believe that the contemporaries of the heroic Judas Maccabeus would have been encouraged for their deadly conflict by any old wives' fables, or the cunningly devised craftiness of any nameless writer of fiction, however brilliant. People do not die for fiction but for faith. The writer of the First Book of Maccabees, the best and only first-class Jewish authority upon the history of the wars of the Jews against the Seleucids, states that Mattathias stirred up his followers to revolt against the tyrant by an appeal to the deliverance of the three children from Nebuchadnezzar's wrath. To have had any effect upon the auditors, they must not merely have known of, but have believed as true, the story to which he appeals by way of example to prove God's interest in his people. To have believed it, they must have known it. So, also, when the writer of First Maccabees uses the story of the den of lions and Daniel's de-

liverance from it to encourage his readers, not he only, but they, must have believed in the actuality of that story. This belief would involve a belief in the existence of Darius the Mede. This belief must have been founded upon some knowledge of him, as well as of Daniel. Such a knowledge is best to be accounted for by supposing that the book of Daniel, certainly at least that portion of Daniel which mentions him, or some other book now lost but then known to his readers, and from which the author of our present book of Daniel derived his information, was in existence before the time of the Maccabees. In the absence of all other books which mention him, and in view of the generally admitted unity of the book, and of the claims of that book to be the record of actual events occurring in the life of Daniel, many of which are such as could have been known to him alone, we can rest our case as far as the story of Darius the Mede is concerned, by saying, first, that the Jews who first read the book must have believed that Darius the Mede existed and reigned; and secondly, that they must have believed that a Daniel once lived in the time of that Darius who suffered such indignities for God's sake and was by Him delivered from the tyrant's power. But if the writer and his readers believed in the existence of Darius the Mede, they can scarcely have failed to have had knowledge also of the Darius "the Persian" of Neh. xii, 22. These Jews were fighting not merely for the law but for all the sacred writings. The second book of Maccabees (chapter one) refers to Nehemiah, and Jesus ben Sira numbers him among his great men of Israel (ch. xlix, 13). The author of Daniel, if he wrote after the book of Nehemiah was written, must have meant another king than Darius the Persian by his Darius the Mede. He must have known of Cyrus,

also; for he mentions him by name three times. He can hardly have been ignorant of Xerxes, son of Darius Hystaspis; for he is mentioned not merely in Esther, but in Ezra iv also. Nor can he have been unacquainted with the name of Artaxerxes,—a name occurring twelve times in Ezra and three times in Nehemiah. Since, then, all are agreed that a writer living in the second century B. C. must almost certainly have known the names of four kings of Persia, that is, Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, he who believes in the assumption that he knew only one each of the kings who bore these names must assume also:

(1) That the writer of Daniel can have thought that all of the kings of Persia mentioned in the books of Ezra-Nehemiah, Haggai, and Zechariah under the name of Darius were the same person.

(2) That he must have been ignorant of Cambyses, of the Pseudo-Smerdis, of two of the three kings named Artaxerxes, of two of the three kings named Darius, and of Xerxes II, Sogdianus, and Arses.

(3) That he must have thought either (a) that Darius the Mede was a king of Persia and the same as the Darius of Ezra-Nehemiah and as the Darius of Haggai-Zechariah, and that these last two Dariuses were the same person, or (b) that Darius the Mede was a Median king who succeeded the Chaldean kings and preceded the Persian kings as monarch of the Babylonian empire, or finally (c) that Darius the Mede was a sub-king under Cyrus, who succeeded Belshazzar as king of Babylon, or of the Chaldeans, or of both the Babylonians and Chaldeans.

That is, the assumption that the writer of Daniel knew of only four kings of Persia would involve the assumptions one, two, and three (a), (b), or (c). Not

merely one of the three assumptions but the first two and one of the suppositions under three. That Darius the Mede was a Median king who became monarch of the Babylonian empire before, and independent of, Cyrus [(3) (b) above], is supported by no good evidence; and claimed nowadays by no one. So we may rule it out.

Can we suppose that in an age when Jewish scholars who knew Greek were flourishing in Egypt and Syria and Babylonia, that these Græcized Jews would be so ignorant of the classical Greek historians as to accept as genuine and canonical the work of an author who thought that there had been only four kings of Persia? Can we suppose that the educated Jews of Egypt were so ignorant of the Egyptian history and monuments as not to know that from Cambyses to Darius Codomannus there had been many Persian kings who ruled over Egypt, among them three Dariuses?[1]

Can we believe that among the Jews in Babylonia—where cuneiform was written and read as late as the first century B. C.—there were none who could read the documents of their adopted country well enough to reject as fabulous the supposititious history and falsely claimed predictions of the so-called Pseudo-Daniel? Are we to believe, that 150 years after the time when Berosus had written the history of Babylon, and Menander that of Tyre, and Manetho that of Egypt, that in the age of Polybius and Diodorus Siculus and a host of other great historians writing in the *lingua franca* of the educated world; are we to believe, I repeat, that the nation of the Jews throughout the world,

[1] The Egypto-Aramaic papyri already known contain part of the Behistun inscription of Darius Hystaspis, and mention by name, Cambyses, Darius I, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, and Darius II.

many of whom certainly spoke and read Greek, should be so unacquainted with the history of the world in which they lived, as not to be able to detect and expose the falsities of such a pseudograph and to confute its claims to historicity and canonization? Why, 164 B. C., or thereabout, when some critics claim that the book of Daniel was written, was 16 years later than the time when Jesus ben Sira, according to the same critics, wrote the book of Ecclesiasticus, and just 32 years before the time when the same book was translated into Greek by his no less thoroughly enlightened grandson. It was just a short time before the time when the first books of the Maccabees were written. It was the time when, according to these same critics, much of the Old Testament was written. Can we believe that, at such a time, credence and canonization can have been given to a book, claiming to be historical, but which was at variance with what was known about such easily ascertained matters as the number and names of the kings of Persia? Let those believe who can, that the foisting of such a pseudograph upon the public of that time was possible; but let all remember that such a belief is based on pure assumption, and has no foundation in any known facts, nor in any reasonable probability, to be derived either from the text of Daniel, from a sensible interpretation of the books of Ezra-Nehemiah and Haggai-Zechariah, or from a likely supposition as to the knowledge of profane history current among the Jews of the second century B. C.

III. However, even if it could be proven that the other Old Testament scriptures mention only four kings of Persia, this would not indicate that the author of Daniel thought that Darius the Mede was one of

them. Those who assert that the author of Daniel was of the opinion that Darius the Mede was a king of Persia[1] base their assertion upon the following further assumptions:

1. That "the realm of the Chaldeans" was the same in extent as the "empire of the Persians."

2. That "from the fact that in vi, 25, Darius the Mede is represented as the absolute ruler of the Babylonian empire and in vi, 1 as having divided this empire into 120 satrapies, the temptation is strong to suspect that the author has confused Darius the Mede with Darius Hystaspis who actually organized the Persian empire into 20 to 29 satrapies."

3. That "the author of Daniel supposed Xerxes to be the father and not the son of Darius."[2]

1. In answer to assumption number one, that the "author of Daniel thought the realm of the Chaldeans to be equivalent to the empire of the Persians," it is sufficient to say, that it is an assertion absolutely unsupported by evidence. If we assume that he meant them to be the same, we are met by a host of difficulties, inasmuch as such a king as Darius the Mede preceding Cyrus in the government of the Persian empire is unknown in both the Hebrew Scriptures and in the Persian, Greek, and Babylonian records. But if we allow that the author meant them to connote different dominions, the one local, the other the vast empire of Cyrus, extending from the Ægean Sea to the River Indus, embracing within its limits, as a part of it, the former kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar, no inconsistency is found between the statements of Daniel and the other biblical or extra-biblical sources. Let it be remembered by the reader, that in testing with other

[1] See p. 162.

[2] See IV, p. 199 and VII, p. 264.

testimony the veracity or consistency of a document, it is not fair to take the statements of the document in a sense different from that which the words most naturally imply; nor of two possible interpretations of a passage to take the one which is inconsistent with veracity, while casting aside the one which is consistent. The burden of proof rests upon the man who impugns another's veracity or the truth of his statements. Pennsylvania is not the United States of America. Prussia is not Germany. England is not the British Empire. Nor was the realm of the Chaldeans even at the height of its glory ever equal in extent, or equivalent in power or dominion to the empire of the Persians. Nor can we believe that any of the critics, nor that any writer of history, sacred or profane, early or late, ever thought that they were the same. The critic may call the author of Daniel an ignoramus doubly dyed; but such an assertion does not prove that the author ever said, or thought even, that the Chaldean kingdom had the same extent as the Persian empire.

2. But, says the critic, does not Daniel say that Darius is represented in vi, 25, as absolute ruler of the Persian empire, and in vi, 1, as having divided this empire into 120 satrapies?[1] To both of these questions I answer: No.

(1) For, first, no such representation as that Darius the Mede was ruler of the Persian empire is made in vi, 25. This verse in the Revised Version reads as follows: "Then king Darius wrote unto all the peoples, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth: Peace be multiplied unto you." Now, it is a fact that can scarcely need more than a statement from us, that the Aramaic word here translated "earth" may just as

[1] See p. 162.

well be translated "land." The corresponding word in Hebrew, Assyrian, and Arabic may, also, have either of these senses. "All the earth" may mean simply "all the land." Instead, therefore, of meaning "empire," as Dr. Driver implies, it is doubtful if a single example of its use in this sense can be found in any literature of any age.[1]

(2[2]) As to Daniel vi, 1, on the basis of which it is asserted that Darius the Mede divided the Persian empire into 120 satrapies, the verse says merely that he placed these satraps over (literally "in") all the kingdom. The natural interpretation of this kingdom would be, of course, the kingdom over which he ruled. As we have shown above that by this kingdom was not meant the Persian empire, the only further inquiry needed is as to whether or not the sub-kingdom above defined could have had 120 satraps. This inquiry demands a consideration of the meaning of the word satrap and of the extent of country over which a satrap may have been placed.

The word satrap is derived from the old Persian *Khshatrapavan*, which according to Spiegel is compounded of *khshatra*, "kingdom," and *pa*, "to protect." Its meaning, then, would be "protector of the kingdom." It is used twice only in the Persian inscriptions: in Behistun, iii, 14, where a Persian Dadarshish is called the servant of Darius and satrap of Bactria; and in iii, 55, of the same, where the Persian Vivana is called the servant of Darius and satrap of Arachosia. In the Avesta, the corresponding word is *shoithrapan*, which

[1] In support of this statement, see the Excursus at the end of this chapter, pages 186–192.

[2] See p. 161.

Justi, with whom Bartholomae agrees, renders "protector of the country" (*Beschützer des Landstrichs*) and derives from *shoithra-pa*. *Shoithra* he defines as "dwelling place, *Wohnort*, *rus*, *pagus* in opposition to city, about the extent of country occupied by a *zantu*." *Zantu* he defines as a "communion of thirty men and women."

Now, if we accept of these derivations and definitions, a satrap may have been originally merely a chief of a small body of wandering Medes, or Persians. According to Justi, a *daqyu* was a region (Gaubezirk) containing several *zantus;* so that each *daqyu* might have had several satraps. This *daqyu*, however, is said by Spiegel to be the same as the Old Persian *dahyu* of the monuments, which means both country and a subdivision of a country. We have seen above that on the monuments *dahyu* is always used in the singular to denote a country like Media, Bactria, Babylonia, Assyria, etc., and the subdivisions, or provinces of the same. So that a country like Media may have had many subdivisions each called *dahya* and each of these may have had several *satraps*. When Cyrus and Gobryas took Babylon, Gobryas who was already governor (*pihatu*) of the land of Gutium, a part of Media (?), was made governor of Babylon also. If Gobryas is the same as Darius the Mede, then, according to Dan. vi, 1, he may have become king of Chaldea, also, at the time including probably a part of Elam. According to the Cyrus chronicle this Gobryas, himself a pihatu of Cyrus, appointed pihats under him. According to the same chronicle somebody (most probably Cyrus) broke into the land of Accad from Elam at an earlier time and placed a *shaknu*, or governor, in Erech. This *shaknu* of Erech and others, who were probably.

placed over other cities, as well as the pihat placed in Babylon by Gobryas, might all very well be called *satraps* in Persian for all anyone *knows* to the contrary. Remember, that satrap occurs nowhere on the Persian monuments save in the two places of the Behistun Inscription mentioned above, to wit, Col. iii, lines 14 and 55. While Darius in the Behistun Inscription mentions the names of 23 countries over which he reigned and in the *Naksh-i-Rustam* inscription mentions 29 of them, it is not said in either that he had set satraps over them; but that he ruled them himself and that they brought tribute directly to him. Besides, even if Darius had called the men who ruled these countries under him by the name of satrap, this would not prove that the rulers of the provinces in these countries may not also have been called satraps by him; and certainly it would not prove that at an earlier time the word may not have been used to denote them. For all we know from the Old Persian inscriptions, it was the only proper Persian title to apply to them.[1]

[1] In proof of this statement, we have carefully gone through all the old Persian inscriptions, with the result that we find there the following words for government officials: *Khshayathiya*, "king," *khshatrapavan*, "satrap," *aura* Lord (used only once and then of Auramazda, the supreme God), *framatar* "commander" (used only of the king of kings and only in the phrase, "the unique, or only, commander of many"), and *mathasta*, literally "the greatest," the general-in-chief of an army. The word *fratama*, which in Daniel means "prince," is always used in the Persian inscriptions as an adjective and only in the phrase *fratama martiya an'ushiya* (literally, "the chief man followers"). There is no reference, however, to his official position or duties. We have seen above that the Old Persian word for country, *dahya*, was used, also, to denote a part of the country; that is, we have *dahya*, "country," and *dahyava dahyaush*, "the countries (or provinces) of a country"; and that Gobryas, the *pihatu* (or governor) of Babylon under Cyrus king of Persia, had under him other *pihatus* (or governors). The only Persian word of the inscriptions which corresponds to *pihatu* is the word *satrap*,

In view of this fact, our readers will doubtless consent to the statement that there is no reason why Darius the Mede may not have appointed 120 satraps to rule under him in the kingdom which according to vi, 1, he had received, and over which according to ix, 1, he "had been made king," as we suppose, by his overlord Cyrus king of Persia. Notice, whether the kingdom was greater or smaller in extent than Babylonia merely, he may have had satraps under him, and the number of these satraps may have been as large as one hundred and twenty, for all we know to the contrary; and so the statement of Daniel vi, 1, stands unimpugned.

Before closing the discussion of the word *satrap*, it might be well to ask whether the use of the word would

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as in §45 of the Behistun Inscription. So that writing in Persian we would say that Gobryas the *satrap* of the *dahyaush* of Babylon under Cyrus appointed under himself other satraps of the dahyava, or subdivisions of his satrapy. In other words there were small countries within a larger country and small satraps under a great satrap, just as there was a *Shah-in-Shah*, or king of kings; just as there used to be a king of Oudh and other sovereigns under the headship of the queen of England. What has thus been shown to be true of the Old Persian inscriptions is true, also, of the Persian of the Avesta. It contains four words for king; to wit, *kavan*, *khsaeta*, *khshaetar*, and *khshathia*: according to Justi, the first of these, *kavan*, is a title which has been found used only for the one dynasty beginning with Kavata. The others are all connected with the *khshayathiya*, of the inscriptions. For satrap, the modernized *shoithrapan* is found. Other words for governor are *shoithrapaiti*, "lord of a district" (Herr eines Landstriches); *danhupaiti*, "lord of a country" (Herr eines Gaues); *Zantupaiti*, "chief" (Herr einer Genossenschaft); *fraçaçtar*, "ruler" (Herrscher); *ratu*, "leader" (Führer); *kara*, "protector" (Beschützer); *fratema*, "chief." There would seem to be an order of rank in *shoithrapaiti*, *danhupaiti*, and *zantupaiti*, corresponding closely to our governor, mayor, and alderman or magistrate. We see no reason why any one of these three might not have been called a *shoitrapan*, "satrap," just as our governors, mayors, and aldermen may all be called "protectors of the law." The king was above all satraps of every kind, just as the president is above all governors, mayors, and aldermen.

best agree with the dating of the book of Daniel in the latter part of the sixth century, say 535 B.C., or with the date 164 B.C., when many think that the book must have been written.

As to the earlier of these dates, 535 B.C., the only objections to its use at that time are, first, that the writer could scarcely employ the word in an Aramaic document so soon after the Persian conquest of Babylon, which had been accomplished in 538 B.C.; and secondly, that he would hardly have used a Persian word to denote officers of Nebuchadnezzar.

As to the former of these objections, it may be said, that the question is, not whether an author writing in *Babylonian* would have probably made use of the Persian word satrap in the year 535 B.C.; but whether a man writing for the Aramaic-speaking Jews living at the time might have used it. We must remember, that the Aramean inscriptions go back to about 1000 B. C.; that the Aramean tribes had been largely subject peoples from the time of Tiglath-Pileser in 1100 B.C.; that their vocabulary in all stages of its existence was more or less filled with the words of their conquerors, especially in the sphere of governmental terms.[1]

[1] It must be remembered, also, that these Aramean tribes extended from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and included the Syrians of the Old Testament, as well as the Arameans of the Assyrian monuments; that the Jews for whom Daniel wrote had been brought into contact with them from their earliest history down; and that many of the Jews as early as the middle of the sixth century certainly had learned the Aramaic tongue, the *lingua franca* of the period. We must remember, further, that many of the Jews had been settled about the middle of the eighth century B.C. in the cities of the Medes; that the language and government of the Medes are known to have been similar to, and in many respects the same as, those of the Persians; that some Aramean tribes, at least, had probably been subject to Median rulers since the destruction of Nineveh about 606 B.C.: that these Arameans

Finally, let it be noticed that an "*and*" is inserted in the text between the second and third words of Dan. iii, 2, as if the author intended to say "to the satraps, both deputies and governors." The last two words are the Assyrio-Babylonian *shaknu* and *pihu* (*pihatu*), the ordinary words for the rulers deputed by the king to rule over subject cities and provinces. The former of these words, *shaknu*, is found once in the Tel-el-Amarna letters of about the year 1500 B.C., and twice in its Phenician equivalent, on one of the two earliest specimens of Phenician writing which have come down to us, dating from the eighth century B.C., at the latest.[1] It is found, also, on the Egypto-Aramaic papyrus D14, dating from the sixth year of Artaxerxes I, *i. e.*, 459 B.C., and in the Sachau papyri seven or eight times. In Hebrew and in late Aramaic, it is not used to denote a deputy governor, but a deputy priest. The latter of the two, *pihu*, occurs in the Hebrew, referring to the reign of Solomon (1 Kings x, 15); in the Aramaic of the Sendshirli inscriptions of about 720 B.C.; and once in the Aramaic recension of the Behistun Inscription from the fifth century B.C. Both terms, therefore, suit the age of Cyrus, since

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and Jews would naturally adopt the native terms of their Median rulers; and hence that the word *satrap* may have been familiar to the captive Jews since the middle of the eighth century B.C.; and to the conquered Aramean tribes of that portion of the Assyrian empire which fell to them from 606 B.C. Further, we must remember, that while Cyrus did not take the city of Babylon until 538 B.C., he had conquered Media and Assyria as early as 553 B.C., the third year of Nabunaid (see Abu-Habba insc., Col. i, 28–33), and that the Jews and Arameans in those countries would thus have been ruled by satraps, long enough before the writing of the book, about 535 B.C., to be familiar with the meaning of the term satrap.

[1] Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 53.

they would then be understood by everyone, inasmuch as all that part of the world had been ruled for hundreds of years by kings using these terms to denote their subordinate officials. The newer Persian word, satrap, may very well have been explained by the two old Babylonian terms, *shaknu* and *pihu*. In fact, we find the latter of these employed by the Aramaic version of the Behistun Inscription as well as by the Babylonian in rendering the old Persian *Khshatrapavan*, or satrap.[1] The author of Daniel, then, merely collects for his Judeo-Aramaic readers of all sections the various terms for governor known to each or all of them, in order to convey to them the sense of the proclamation of Nebuchadnezzar.[2]

It is not sufficient to reply to this, that the word satrap has not been found in the inscriptions from his time; for these inscriptions, except the Aramaic dockets, are all in Babylonian. They are either building inscriptions or contract tablets, with the exception of the broken historical tablet recording the Egyptian campaign, and this fragment contains only one word for ruler, the ordinary word for king, *sharru*, and but one word for any other official, the word *abkallu*, "general of the army (?)." The building inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, moreover, are not concerned especially with political matters,[3] and so far as can be known, Nebu-

[1] Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus*, p. 191.

[2] Nebuchadnezzar may have used in Babylonian such a phrase as *ana naphar ķepani* (or *malki*), *shaknuti, u pihate*, etc., *i. e.*, to the totality of officers (or kings), deputies, and governors.

[3] The only titles for rulers besides king and the titles of the gods and kings of Babylon to be found in all the published building inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, are *pihati* in Langdon, number xvii, Col. ii, B 10; and *shagganakku mati Hattim* "chiefs of the land of the Hittites" (*id.*, Col. iii, 8).

chadnezzar may have used *satrap* in his proclamations, even in the Babylonian rendition of them.[1]

But as to the Aramaic translations of the proclamations of the Babylonian kings, whenever such translations may have been made, it was absolutely necessary to employ foreign words to express governmental ideas, inasmuch as the pure Aramaic did not possess a native vocabulary sufficient for expressing them.[2]

When the Arameans came under subjection to any foreign potentate, we find them uniformly adopting some of the governmental terminology of their latest conquerors, and gradually eliminating from their literature the linguistic traces of former subjugations.[3]

The *satrap* of Ezra iii, 2 (Peshitto), of Ephraem Syrus, and of Julian the Apostate, is evidently taken over from the Greek and not directly from the Persian; so that the use of the word in Syriac does not prove a continuous use of the term in Aramaic from the Achæmenid period down, but rather the contrary. Further, along this line, may be noted the fact, that if we place the writing of the book of Daniel in the second century B.C., it is impossible to account for the manner in which

[1] However, it is worthy of remark, that, in the Babylonian after the Persian conquest the word satrap has not been found at all. Even in the Babylonian version of the inscriptions of the Persian kings the only words for governmental officials are *sharru* "king," *rabu* "general" (Behistun, 42, 82), and *bel* "lord" (Behistun: Small Insc., 9).

[2] The pure Aramaic has the word for king, *malka*, the word for ruler, *shallit* or *shilton*, the word for judge, *dayyan*, the word *rab*, magnate, the words *resh* and *rashan*, "head, or chief," and the word *mar*, "lord" or "sir."

[3] Thus, the word translated governor in Dan. iii, 2, is the Assyrian *pihu* and is found in Aramaic first in the inscription of Panammu which was written about 725 B.C. and in the Aramaic recension of the Behistun Inscription; and is last used in Daniel and Ezra. Again, *sagan*, the

the word rendered *satrap* is spelled in the original, except on the assumption that the author copied the word from the Hebrew of Esther or Ezra; simply changing the ending to suit the Aramaic form. For notice, that the word, as *spelled* in Daniel, cannot have been transliterated from the Greek satrap, nor apparently from the Babylonian, nor from the later Persian form found in the Avesta. Whenever the word came into the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament, it must have come directly from the Old Persian, which is known to us only from the inscriptions of the Achæmenids, and in the case of this particular word from the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspis alone.

For first, the word *satrap* in its Greek form has for its first letter a sigma, or *s* sound. Now, in the transliteration of Greek words taken over into Hebrew

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"deputy" of Dan. iii, 2, is found, perhaps in a political sense, in the Tel-el-Amarna letters and again in the Egypto-Aramaic of the fifth century B.C. It occurs, also, in the earliest Phenician inscription, to be dated certainly no later than the eighth century B.C. Its most recent use in this sense in Aramaic is in Daniel, though it is found in the Hebrew of Nehemiah and Ezra. The Greek *strategos*, "general," is found on a Nabatean monument of 37 A.D., on Palmyrene monuments from the third century A.D., and in ancient Syriac frequently before the Mohammedan conquest. In the Targum (2 Chron. xxviii, 7) and in a Palmyrene inscription from 264 A.D., when Palmyra was at times under the influence or domination of the Persian Sassanids, *argabat*, or *arqabat*, a late Persian word not found in the Avesta nor in the old Persian inscriptions (de Vog., *La Syrie Centrale*, 26), is used in the sense of satrap, or deputy. In the same inscription we find the Latin *ducenarius* and the Greek *epitropos* and *hippikos*. In Roman times, also, *dux* "duke" and *comes* "count" are found in Syriac. After the Arab conquest, we find the Arabic words *kalifah*, "caliph," *wazir*, "vizier," and *ḳadi*, "cady." In later times, are found the Turkish, Kurdish, and Persian words *shah*, "king"; *agha*, "lord of a village"; *mudir*, "deputy-governor": *wazir*, "minister, or governor"; *sultan*, "sultan"; *mutasarip*, "sub-governor"; *wali*, "governor-general"; *wali'ad*, "crown-prince." Many of these last were originally Arabic.

or Aramaic or Syriac, not a single one begins with an Aleph, followed by a Heth, followed by a Shin, as does this word *'aḥashdarpan* in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the O. T. Nor does a single word begin with *Heth* followed by a *Shin.* Nor does one begin even with a Shin. This statement may be tested by anyone who will take the trouble, as the writer of this chapter has done, of looking over all the words beginning with the above-mentioned letters, as they are to be found in Dalman's *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch* and Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum.*

On the other hand, we are fortunate enough to be able to certify to the manner in which the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament transliterated an Old Persian word beginning with the same letters in Persian as does the word for satrap. The Old Persian word which the Greek renders by Xerxes, has on the Achæmenid inscriptions the letters *khshayarsha;* the word for satrap is *khshatrapavan.* It will be noted that these words both begin with a *kh* (Hebrew Heth) followed by a *sh* (Hebrew Shin). Now, anyone can see in a Hebrew Bible, or Dictionary, that Xerxes in its Hebrew form begins with Aleph, followed by Heth, followed by Shin, just as the word for satrap does. In like manner, we might reason, that the Hebrew and Aramaic did not take over the word through the medium of the Babylonian; for, if we look at the way in which Xerxes was transliterated in Babylonian, we find at least twenty-four different ways of spelling the whole word and four different ways of reproducing the first two letters. Only one of these twenty-four ways corresponds to the Hebrew and Aramaic transliteration, and written in this way the word occurs but twice, and

even there has a difference of one consonantal letter (Evetts, 3, 5).[1]

As to the Aramaic form of the word used in Daniel having been derived from the later Persian of the Avesta, this is ruled out by the fact that in this Middle Persian the word for satrap is spelled *shoithrapan*, a form which might be transliterated into Hebrew with a prosthetic Aleph, but never with a prosthetic Aleph and Heth both. Finally, there is no evidence that the word satrap was used in any Aramaic dialect from Greek or Roman times, except in the Syrian. Here, the forms *satrāpā* and *satrāpīs* show clearly that the Syriac took over the word from the Greek.

From the above induction of evidence bearing on the word satrap, we may conclude, that the word satrap can have been used by a writer in the latter part of the sixth century B.C., because:

First, the form of the word as spelled in the book of Daniel corresponds with the spelling of the Persian of the inscriptions; whereas the spelling of the word in Syriac, the only Aramaic dialect from Greek or Roman times that employs it, shows that the Syriac imported the word from the Greeks.

Secondly, because this spelling shows, that the word as used in Daniel cannot have been taken over from the Greeks, nor from the Persian of the Avesta or later times, nor, most probably, from the Babylonian; but directly from the Old Persian to which it exactly corresponds.

[1] For the different ways of writing Xerxes in Babylonian, see my article in the *Princeton Theolog. Rev.*, vol. iii, p. 161; to which add the readings of the tablets given in the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, vols. iii, iv, v, and vi.

Thirdly, because the sense of the word as used by Daniel has nothing inconsistent with the derivation and use of the word among the Persians themselves.

IV. The assumption that the author of Daniel supposed Xerxes the Great to be the father of Darius the Mede, after having confused the latter with Darius Hystaspis, is so unwarranted, that it may be safely left to the judgment of the reader.[1] There is absolutely no evidence in support of such an assumption.[2]

Excursus on the words for land, people, and nation.

In support of my contention, that the words for land do not denote the idea of empire in the sense that this latter term is used by Dr. Driver, I append the following data. In all of the building inscriptions of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar, *irṣitu* is found numerous times in the phrase "king of the gods of heaven and earth" applied to the god Merodach.[3] Once[4] Nebuchadnezzar says that he laid the foundation of his palace upon the bosom of the broad earth (*irṣitim*), and sometimes he uses it in the phrase "land of Babylon."[5] The other and usual Assyrio-Babylonian word for land, *matu*, is used frequently in these and other inscriptions; but, in the singular, it always refers to *one* land only;[6] the plural *matati*, or *matan*, being used when the rule of the king of Babylon over other lands is mentioned.[7] This is true, also, of the contract

[1] See p. 162.
[2] For a discussion of this matter see p. 264.
[3] Langdon, 84, 122, 114.
[4] Langdon, p. 88.
[5] *Id.*, pp. 134, 176.
[6] Langdon, pp. 54, 60, 90 *et al.*
[7] *E.g.*, Langdon, pp. 88, 120, 148.

tablets from Nebuchadnezzar down, including those from the time of the Persian kings of Babylon. That is, when the king of the land, or city, of Babylon is meant, the singular is used; and when the king of the lands is meant, the plural is used. So, also, in the *Annals of Sargon* (Winckler's edition), the singular for land (*matu*) occurs 279 times, always of a country such as Elam, Assyria, or the Medes; or of a part of a country—a district. In this last sense, it is employed sometimes before *nagu* "district," though *nagu* may be employed alone in this sense.[1] There might also be a land within a land, as "the land of Yatbur in the land of Elam";[2] or districts within a land, as "six districts (*nage*) of the land of Gambuli."[3] Or there might be two names united under the head of one land, as "the land of Shumer and Accad."[4] Before this last combination of names we find also the two names for land combined as *irṣit mati Shumer u Accadi*, "the land (surface) of the country of Shumer and Accad."[5] Or there might be such a phrase as "the land of the district of the land of the Medes which is of the region of the land of Illibi";[6] that is, a land within a land within a land.[7]

In the Babylonian inscriptions of the Persian kings,

[1] See *Annals of Sargon*, lines 173, 227, 375.

[2] *Id.*, l. 291.

[3] *Id.*, l. 264.

[4] *Id.*, ll. 313, 314. Compare the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

[5] *Id.*, ll. 235, 241.

[6] *Id.*, l. 158.

[7] The plural "lands" is used but eight times in Sargon's *Annals*, usually in the phrase "people of the lands," e. g., *nišî matate* (ll. 16, 71, 177, 227). The other uses are "kings of the lands" (l. 437); "Bel, lord of the lands" (l. 436); "I passed through those lands" *i. e.*, those mentioned in the preceding context (ll. 58–60); the "lordship of the lands" (l. 181). In this last example, the text is much broken; but it seems to indicate that the lands meant are all parts of the land of Kammanu spoken of in l. 179.

also, "land" is never used for "lands"; but the former always means a single division of the empire which embraced the lands under the dominion of the great kings of kings. For the empire as a whole the following expressions are used: "lands";[1] "lands of the totality of tongues";[2] "lands of the totality of all tongues";[3] "the great wide earth's surface";[4] "all the totality of the lands;"[5] "the totality of all lands";[6] "earth's surface"[7]; "this great wide earth's-surface of many lands";[8] "the land of Persia and the land of Media and the other lands of other tongues of the mountains and the land this side the sea and beyond the sea, of this side the desert land and beyond the desert land";[9] "this great broad earth's surface";[10] "the totality of lands";[11] "the totality of all tongues";[12] "the great broad earth's surface";[13] "the lands which are upon all the earth's surface."[14]

In these inscriptions, earth as opposed to heaven is denoted by *irṣitu* in NR. 1, H. 2, Ca. 2, Cb. 2, K. 3; and by *ḳaḳḳaru*.[15]

[1] *Matati*, Behistun Inscription, 7, 8, 14, 40, NR. 4, 8, 20, 25, D 18.

[2] *Id.*, D 7, E 5.

[3] *Matati sha naphar lishanu (lishanati) gabbi* (*id.*, NR. 4, B. 2, O. 15, Ca. 6, Cb. 9).

[4] *Ḳaḳḳar ruḳtum rabitu* (*id.*, NR. 5).

[5] *Kullu napharisun* (*id.*, NR. 26).

[6] *Naphar matati gabbi* (*id.*, Ca. 4, Cb. 7, K. 8).

[7] *Kakkaru* (O. 2).

[8] *Ḳaḳḳar agaa rapshatum sha matati madietum* (*id.*, H. 5).

[9] H. 6–12, 15–20. Bezold, p. 39.

[10] *Kakkari agata rabiti rapshatum* (*id.*, Ca. 6, Cb. 11, F. 16).

[11] *Naphar matati* (*id.*, F. 15).

[12] *Naphar-lishanu gabbi* (*id.*, K. 12).

[13] *Kakkari rabitum rapshatum* (*id.*, K. 12).

[14] *Matati sha ina muhhi kakkar gabbi* (*id.*, S. 2).

[15] Heb. *Karka*, ground. To denote land the Babylonian uses, also, *dadmu*, *kibratu*, *nagu*, and *pihatu*.

In the Persian of the Behistun Inscription *bumi* is employed to render both *irṣitu* and *ḳaḳḳaru; dahya* for *matu;* and *zana* for *lisanu.* The Susian inscriptions make similar and consistent distinctions, using *murun* for earth, *tayiyaus* for land, and *zana* for tongue.

In Arabic, *balad* came to be used in the sense of *matu;* but *'arḍ* had the double meaning of earth as opposed to heaven, and of the land in which we live.[1]

In Hebrew, the one word *'arṣ* had to do service in both senses. It meant earth as opposed to heaven as in Gen. i, 1; but it was used, also, for land, as in Gen. iv, 16, "land of Nod."[2]

The plural "lands" was used appropriately when a number of countries was meant. A good example is to be found in Gen. xxvi, 3, 4, where the Lord says to Isaac: "Sojourn in the land . . . ; for unto thee and unto thy seed I will give all these lands . . . ; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." Another is the familiar phrase "kings of the lands" as used in Ezra ix, 7.[3]

[1] For the latter use, see the Koran vii, 107; xiv, 16; xx, 59, 66; xxvi, 34; xxviii, 57; xxxi, 34; xxxiii, 27.

[2] So, also, "Land of Shinar," Gen. x, 10, 11, xi, 2; "land of Canaan," xi, 31, xii, 5; "Land of Egypt," xiii, 10; and often of other lands, as Philistina, xxi, 32, Edom, xxxvi, 16, Goshen, xlv, 10, Midian, Ex. ii, 15, Gilead, Num., xxxii, 1, Moab, Deut. i, 5, Ephraim and Manasseh, xxxiv, 2, Judah, xxxiv, 2, Hittites, Jos., i, 4, Mizpeh, xi, 3, Zebulon, Jud. xii, 12, Ephraim, xii, 15, Benjamin, xxi, 21, Shalisha, 1 Sam. ix, 4, Shalim, *id.*, Zuph, ix, 5, Gad, xiii, 7, Shual, xiii, 17, Israel, xiii, 19, Beni Ammon, 2 Sam. x, 2, Hepher, 1 Kings iv, 10, Galilee, ix, 11, Naphtali xv, 20, Hamath, 2 Kings xxiii, 33 Bashan, 1 Chron. v, 11, Chittim, Isa. xxiii, 1 Chaldeans, xxiii, 13, Assyria, xxvii, 13, Uz, Jer. xxv, 20, Pathros, xliv, 1, Babylon, l, 28, Magog, Ezek. xxxviii, 2, Nimrod, Mic. v, 6, and others.

[3] Compare, also, the phrases "people of the lands," Ezra iii, 3, ix, 1, 2, 11, Neh. ix, 30, x, 29; "kingdoms of the lands," 1 Chron. xxix, 30, 2 Chron. xii, 8, xvii, 10, xx, 29; "families of the lands," Ezek. xx, 32; and

In Aramaic and Syriac, *'ar'*, the word corresponding to the Hebrew *'arṣ*, has the same variety of meanings.

It requires, therefore, more than an *ipse dixit* to show that the author of Daniel meant that Darius the Mede made his decree for more than a limited portion of that great empire which was ruled over by Cyrus and by Darius Hystaspis. For the word employed in Daniel vi, 25, *'ar'* might be used for the land of a city, of a tribe, of a people, or of peoples and nations, as well as to denote earth as distinguished from heaven. The Hebrews consistently employ the word *kingdom* or *realm* to denote empire or dominion; but the words used to express the idea are limited in the extent of meaning from a city to a province, or a country, or a number of countries. The nearest approach in Hebrew to a phrase equivalent to our "Persian empire" is to be found in Ezra i, 2, and 2 Chron. xxxvi, 23, where we read: "Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth." This phrase "all the kingdoms of the earth" is used in the widest sense in 2 Kings xix, 15, 19,[1] where Jehovah is said to be God alone of all the kingdoms of the earth; and again in Isa. xxiii, 17, where it is said of Tyre that "she shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the earth which are upon the face of the ground"; and in Jer. xxxiv, 1, where it is said that "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and all his army, and all the kingdoms of the earth that were under his dominion (*memsheleth yado*), and all the peoples

especially, 2 Chron. xxxiv, 33, where we read, "And Josiah took away all the abominations out of all the countries that pertained to the children of Israel."

[1] Isa. xxxvii, 16, 20 *id.*

(*ha'ammim*) fought against Jerusalem." In a similar sense, the phrase is employed where it is said in several places, that God would scatter the children of Israel among "all the kingdoms of the earth."[1] In 2 Chron. xvii, 10, it is said, that "the fear of Jehovah was upon all the kingdoms of the lands which were round about Judah." In 2 Chron. xx, 29 this fear is said to have been upon "all the kingdoms of the lands", which heard of the slaughter with which Jehovah had caused the sons of Ammon and the inhabitants of Mount Seir to destroy one another, in answer to the prayer of Jehoshaphat recorded in the sixth verse of the same chapter, where he asks Jehovah, God of his fathers, "Art thou not God in heaven? and rulest thou not over all the kingdoms of the nations?" In 1 Chron. xxix, 29, 30, it speaks of the books which recorded the acts of David "with all his reign and his might and the times that went over him, and over Israel, and over all the kingdoms of the lands." In 2 Chron. xii, 8, Israel was delivered into the hand of Shishak, king of Egypt, that they might know Jehovah's "service, and the service of the kingdoms of the lands." This phrase "all the kingdoms" is found, also, in 1 Kings iv, 21, where Solomon is said to have "ruled over all the kingdoms from the River [Euphrates] unto the land of the Philistines and unto the border of Egypt." "All the kingdoms of Canaan" are spoken of in Ps. cxxxv, 11; and "the kingdoms of Hazor" in Jer. xlix, 28.

From the above examples, it is evident that if the writer of Daniel had wished to indicate that the decree of Darius in chapter vi, 25, was meant for the Persian empire, he could have used such a phrase as "all the kingdoms of the earth," as Cyrus did in his decree of

[1] Deut. xxviii, 25, Jer. xxv, 4, xiv, 9, xxix, 18, xxxiv, 17.

Ezra i, 2, and Hezekiah in his prayer; or more definitely still, the phrase of Isaiah xxiii, 17, "all the kingdoms of the earth which are upon the face of the ground." Or, he might have said "all the kingdoms of the lands," or "all the kingdoms of the nations" or, after the manner of Esther i, 1, "all the kingdoms of the earth from India even unto Egypt." But, as he uses simply "all the earth," the presumption is that he meant the land (*'arṣ*), or country, over which he ruled, without defining the extent of the country. It might have been merely Babylonia, or Chaldea, or Media, or any two, or all three, of these. According to any fair interpretation, however, it must be made to harmonize with the rest of the book of Daniel as explained in the light of its own evidence; unless and until sufficient evidence shall be gathered to convince unbiassed judges that the *'arṣ* of chapter vi, 25, *must* have meant the empire of Persia.

But, someone may say, is not this shown conclusively by the use of the words "peoples, nations, and languages" of this very verse? To which the answer is, Certainly not. For these words also must be limited by their context. In Dan. iii, 4, 7 *bis*, 31, they are employed to denote the inhabitants of the provinces of the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar; and in v, 19, Daniel is represented as saying to Belshazzar, that "all peoples, nations, and languages trembled and feared before" Nebuchadnezzar. Here, of course, the Median and Lydian empires can scarcely have been meant. In Dan. vii, 14, where it is said that "all peoples, nations and languages, should serve" the son of man forever, it was probably used in the most general sense. But we contend that they do not necessarily, even in themselves, have this universal sense.

For the words here translated peoples are employed in Hebrew, Phenician, Arabic, and Aramaic in a narrower meaning which will suit the boundaries of the land of a sub-king of a province, as well as the empire of the king of kings.

For example, *'am*, ' people" is found in Phenician for the people of the city of Tyre;[1] for the people of the city of Sidon;[2] for the people of the city of Maktar;[3] and for those of the city of Carthage.[4] In Arabic, the word *'am* means "a company of men," or as some say "of a tribe."[5] In the Arabic version of Isaiah *'am* is rendered by *sa'b*, "tribe," in chapter xxv, 3; xxxiii, 3; xlv, 1, and also in Saadya's version in Deut. xxxiii, 3. The Arabic has six or more divisions and subdivisions of the tribe and several more of the nation.[6]

In the Aramaic of the Targum of Jonathan to the prophets, and in the Peshitto, *'am* translates the corresponding Hebrew word and also usually *goy*, "nation." *E. g.*, Isa. xiv, 6, xxv, 3, xxxi, 28, xlii, 6.[7]

Goy, the ordinary Hebrew word for nation, is rendered *malkuth* in Isa. xi, 10; xxxiii, 3; xlix, 22, by the Targum of Jonathan. *L'om* is always rendered by *maleku* in Onkelos.[8] *'Am* is rendered by *shevet* in Gen. xxviii, 3, xlviii, 4, and Deut. xxxiii, 3, where it refers to the divisions of Israel.[9] *Mishpachah*, the

[1] CIS i, 7.5. [2] Cooke, *North Semitic Insc.*, p. 95. [3] *Id.*, 151.
[4] *Id.*, 134. [5] Lane, vol. i, p. 2149. [6] Lane, p. 1536.

[7] In the Nabatean royal inscriptions, *'am* is used ordinarily in the phrase "lover of his people." See Cooke, pp. 217, 220, 225, 226, 227 *et al.*

[8] The Aramaic version of the Pentateuch in common use among Jews of the early Christian centuries and until about 200 A. D.

[9] *Shevet* is the transliteration of the Hebrew *shevet* and the translation of *matteh* meaning a tribe of Israel, both in the Aramaic Targums in the Syriac and Samaritan dialects, and with the change of the sibilant in Arabic also. In both Aramaic and Arabic the word *shevet* is commonly used only for a tribe of Israel.

Hebrew word for family, is rendered in Onkelos by the word for seed. The Samaritan usually transliterates,[1] but at other times renders by the peculiar word *karn*. The Arabic version employs *'asirat*, the word in Arabic for the next greatest division of a tribe.[2] For the Hebrew "house" in the sense of household, or family, Onkelos uses[3] "the men of his house." The Syriac has seven words for "gens"; four for family; two for nation; four for "populus."[4] In Hebrew, we have a much larger number of words for nation, people, etc., such as *goy* nation, *l'om* people, *'am* people, *'anashim* men, *banim* sons, *'ummah* tribe, *shevet* tribe, *matteh* tribe, *chayyah* tribe (Psa. lxviii, 11), *mishpachah* family, and *beth* house. Perhaps, also, *pachad* means tribe in Gen. xxxi, 42.

'Ummah occurs but twice in the Hebrew bible and in both cases it is used to denote a subdivision of the *'am;* in Gen. xxv, 16, it denotes the twelve divisions of the Ishmaelites, and in Num. xxv, 15, Zur the father of Cozbi is said to have been head of the *'Ummoth* of a father's house in Midian. As Midian is called an *'am* in Ex. ii, 15, it is plain that the *'ummah* was a subdivision of the *'am*, whatever the exact relationship to a "father's house" may have been.

In Babylonian, the ordinary word for people is *nishu*, which is probably of the same origin as the Hebrew *enosh* and the Syriac *nosho*, the usual word for man (*vir*) as distinguished from woman. The word is used of the people of a city;[5] or of a land.[6]

[1] As in Num. xxvii, 7 *et al.*

[2] Lane, p. 1556, compared with p. 2053. Steingass in his English-Arabic dictionary gives 5 words for nation, 10 for people, 4 for family; and Lane in his Arabic dictionary gives 9 subdivisions of "tribe."

[3] *E.g.*, Gen. xii, 17.

[4] See Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum *in loco.*

[5] E. g., *nishim Babilam-ki* (Muss-Arnolt, p. 737b).

[6] E. g., *nish Sumerim u Akkadim*, "people of Shumer and Accad" (*id.*,

Less frequently we find the word *ummanu*, which probably is from the same root as *'am*. Langdon translates *ummanati* by "people."[1]

A third word for people is *ummatu*;[2] a fourth, *tenišetu*, in such phrases as *Ea bel tenišetu* "Ea lord of mankind";[3] a fifth word is *dadmu* which is used in parallel inscriptions instead of *tenišetu* in such phrases as *kal dadmi*, "all men,"[4] or alone for people as in Sargon inscriptions.[5] A sixth way of expressing the people of a city, or country, is by the word *mare*, "sons," followed by the name of the city or land as in the phrase *mare ali*, "sons of the city," *mare Nina*, "sons of Nineveh," *mare Babili*, "sons of Babylon," *mare mati Ashshur*, "sons of the land of Assur."[6] A seventh way is *amelu*, employed before the name of a city or country to denote the inhabitants of it.[7]

737a); *nishim mati Babili*, "peoples of the land of Babylon" (Langdon, p. 59); and in the phrase land and people (*id.* 59: 12; 61: 12; 91: 9; 103: 23; 123: 26); for many nations *e. g.*, in the phrase *nishim rabeatim* (*id.*, 89: 28), or *nishim rapashtim* (71 : 12; 83 : 10; 89 : 11; 117 : 19; 149 : 12); for all nations *e. g.*, in the phrase *kullat nishim*, (*id.* 59 : 17; 89 : 24; 171 : 35 (?)); or *kishshat nishi*, "host of nations" (*id.* 119 : 42; 121 : 64; 141 : 50); or *nishi matati* (Muss-Arnolt, 737a); or simply *nishi* in the phrase *Ea patik nishi*, Ea creator of mankind. (KB iii, 11).

[1] So on p. 53, vol. iii, 4. See, also, Delitzsch, HWB., p. 87a. We find, also, the phrases *ummanat Bel*, people or servants of Bel, and *ummanim shadleatim* (*id.* 59 : 25), "the numerous or obedient peoples" (Langdon, p. 51, vol. ii, 2; Delitzsch, HWB., under shadlu, vol. ii, p. 644).

[2] Muss-Arnolt, 64a.

[3] Compare *tenišeti* "people" (Sargon *Annals*, 373), *tenišeti nakiri* "hostile peoples" (*id.* 414, xiv.27), *tenišeti matitan* "people of the lands" (*id.* 428); *kala tenišeti* "all men" (Del., HWB. 106) to denote tribe or family; *kullat tenišeti* (*id*). *Tenišet ameli Kaldi* and *tenišet mati Kaldi* "people of the men" or "of the land of the Chaldeans" (*id.* 106).

[4] Del., HWB., 211, e. g., *dadmi matitan* "the people of the lands" (Sargon, Pr., 165). [5] E. g., *Annals*, 427, 454, xiv, 76, pp. ii, 40, iv, 121.

[6] Del., HWB., p. 391.

[7] *E. g.*, of cities as in Sargon's *Annals* 40, 50, and of countries as in

To denote tribe, the Assyrio-Babylonian employs the words *nishatu*, *kimtu*, *salatu*, *emutu*, *limu*, (Hebrew *l'om*), *ummatu* (Hebrew *'ummah*), *ṣalmat gagadim*, *ṣalmat ḳaḳḳadi*, and *lishanu*.[1]

In the Persian of the inscriptions, the following words are used for people etc.: *Kara* "people";[2] *karu Mada* "the Median people,"[3] a word used of the divisions of the Medes and Persians; *tauma* "family," especially of the family of the Achæmenidæ;[4] *citra* "seed, race" of the Aryan race only, as in NRa 14; *par'uzana* "of many tribes, or tongues," in the phrase "lands of many tribes, or tongues,"[5] equivalent to the Babylonian "lands of the totality of all tongues," and *martiya* a word corresponding to our word "man."

The New-Susian inscriptions of the Persian kings have the same variety of words to denote the people and the subdivisions of the people, as we have found in the Old Persian.[6]

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the *Annals*, 242, Pr., 37. The abstract word *amelutu* is used to denote "the human race" (Muss-Arnolt, 57B).

[1] Phrases used to denote the idea of mankind in a more or less limited sense are as follows: *amelutum nishi salmat ḳaḳḳadu* "men of the people of the dark race"; *kibrati sha kala tenisheti* "the regions of all mankind" (Langdon, p. 141); *nishi kibrati arbatim* "men of the four regions" (*id.*, 153:21); *naphar nishi dadmi rapshatim* "the totality of the people of scattered habitations," or "of many peoples" (151:19) *gimir salmat ḳaḳḳadu* (Sargon xiv, 69, 70), "the totality of the black headed (people)," and most detailed of all "*kullat matatan gimir kala dadmi ultu tiamtim eletim adi tiamtim shaplitim matati ragatim nisi dadmi rapsatim sharrani shadi neshutim u nagi bierutim*, etc., *ummanat Shamash u Marduk*" (Langdon 149:17–35) "all lands; the totality of the people from the upper sea to the lower sea, the far away lands, the people of many habitations, kings of distant mountains and remote regions, etc., the subjects (peoples) of Shamash and Marduk I summoned etc."

[2] *Beh.*, i, 50, 66, 75, 78. Compare, also, *kara har'uva* "the whole people" (*id.*, i, 40, ii, 75, 90).

[3] *Id.*, i, 69, 71 *et al.*

[4] *Beh.*, i, 16 *et al.*

[5] Elwend 75, Suez, b 5 *et al.*

[6] See F. H. Weisbach, *Die Achamenideninschriften Zweiter Art.*

So, also, with regard to the use of the terms to denote mankind and its divisions and subdivisions, the evidence shows, that coördinate, or equivalent, words denoting the same ideas did not exist among all nations, nor in all languages. The meanings of terms, then as now, were dependent upon social and political conditions. The Arabs, having one kind of society and circumstances, have a suitable vocabulary to express their political and social divisions. The Hebrews, with different conditions, have a different vocabulary. The Persians have another, and the Babylonians still another. Among the Aramaic dialects, we find the Syrians with a different vocabulary from that of the Targums and from that of Ezra and Daniel. In considering, therefore, the meaning of the terms employed by Daniel to denote the political divisions of the population of the "land" or "earth," we must limit ourselves, not to the words employed in Greek, Latin, German, or English, nor even to those found in Arabic, Hebrew, Babylonian, or Persian; but to a consideration of the words found in the Aramaic itself. When we do this, we find, that *'am* and *'ummah* are the only words in Ezra, Daniel, or the Targums, to express the people of a country, or of its subdivisions. If the book of Daniel had been written in some other language, more terms might possibly have been employed to express these ideas. As it is, who can deny that Babylonia itself, or a kingdom, or sub-kingdom, consisting of Babylonia, Shumer and Accad, Chaldea, Susiana, and possibly of Mesopotamia, Gutium, and parts at least of Media and Syria, over all of which it is more than possible that Darius the Mede may have reigned as sub-king under Cyrus,—who can deny, I say, that this kingdom may have had in it many peoples and clans and

tribes? For example, there was the people, or *'am*, of the Arameans. One tribe, or *'ummah*, of these certainly dwelt in Damascus, others lived in the vicinity of Babylon, others probably had already possessed parts of Mesopotamia. So with the Medes, Darius Hystaspis and Herodotus speak of the people of the Medes and of their clans. Then there were the Arabs, who were not merely a separate *'am* but had always their distinct tribes. Other peoples would be the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Elamites, and perhaps Scythians, Armenians, and Cimmerians.

So, also, with the languages, or tongues, spoken of in Daniel. It is perfectly consistent with the facts revealed by the monuments to suppose that decrees put forth at Babylon in the sixth century B.C. would be issued in several tongues, such as the Babylonian, the Susian, the Aramean, and the Median. Darius Hystaspis and his successors have made their inscriptions in three or more languages.[1] After the Macedonian conquests, many decrees and inscriptions were made in two or more languages, as witness the Rosetta stone, and many of the Palmyrene inscriptions. In a polyglot community, like that of Babylon in the sixth century B.C., any king who really wanted his subjects to obey his decrees must have issued them in languages which they could understand; and so we can well believe that Darius the Mede may have issued his decrees, not merely in Babylonian, or Median, or Persian; but, also, it may be, in Aramaic, and Hebrew, and Susian, as well as in other tongues.[2]

[1] Darius in his Behistun Inscription, § 70, says that he sent it into all lands. See Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden*, p. 71.

[2] The inscription of Behistun is in three languages and an Aramaic version of it has been found at Elephantine in Egypt. The Suez inscriptions of Darius are in four languages.

Having thus shown that when the author of Daniel says in chapter vi, 25, that Darius made a decree for "all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the '*arṣ*" he may have meant merely for that part of the Persian empire over which he ruled, we shall rest our case, and advise our readers to do the same, until those who assert that the whole empire of Persia is meant shall produce some evidence to support their claim. Let the readers of this article remember that every part of a document, especially one as to which, as in the case of the book of Daniel, the unity is generally admitted, must be interpreted in harmony with the rest of the document. The only exception to this rule of evidence is in the case of parts as to which it can be shown by convincing evidence that they have been forged and interpolated in the original text. No such claim has ever been made for this and similar verses. Till such a claim shall have been made and the evidence for it produced, we may be allowed to believe that Darius the Mede is not represented in the sixth chapter of Daniel as the absolute ruler of the Persian empire. A sub-king to Cyrus, king of Persia, may have issued the decree in the terms of the text, without exaggeration of language, or any departure from the truth, or any stretch of his authority, or of the legal bounds within which his writ could run.

CHAPTER X

DARIUS THE MEDE NOT A CONFUSION WITH DARIUS HYSTASPIS

V. As to the question, whether the author of Daniel confused Darius the Mede with Darius Hystaspis,[1] based upon the assumption that because Darius the Mede is said in vi, 1, to have organized the empire into 120 satrapies, he has confounded him with "Darius Hystaspis who actually organized the Persian empire into satrapies, though much fewer than 120," and "who established the system of satrapies" of which "the Behistun Inscription enumerates 23, etc.,"[2] the answer is:

First. The author of Daniel does not speak of organized satrapies, but simply of satraps. He does not mention the extent of their dominions, nor the limits of their authority, except by saying that "Darius set them over the kingdom." The word "kingdom" as here used, like "land" in vi, 25, must be defined by the context. All that the context teaches us is that Belshazzar the Chaldean was killed and Darius the Mede received the kingdom; that is, obviously, Belshazzar's kingdom. This kingdom was, probably, Chaldea, Babylon, Accad, and Susiana. In addition to this, as the title "the Mede" implies, and as would

[1] See p. 162.

[2] Driver, p. 500.

certainly be true if Darius the Mede be identical with Gobryas, he was also governor or sub-king of Gutium as the Cyrus *Chronicle* relates. Gutium was a country of undefined extent, but probably embracing all the territory between Babylonia on the one side and the mountains of Armenia to the north and Mt. Zagros to the northeast on the other, and perhaps even the country beyond Mt. Zagros whose capital city was Ecbatana.[1] Secondly, it can scarcely be said, in conformity with the facts of history as revealed on the monuments, that Darius Hystaspis established the system of satrapies, if by this is meant, as Dr. Driver seems to imply, that a system of government by officials mostly of the governing race, appointed by the central or predominant authority, was originated and first introduced by Darius Hystaspis as a method of governing subject races. However it may have been with the monarchs who preceded Sargon who reigned as king of Assyria from 722 to 705 B. C., it is certain that his system of governing the subject cities and peoples was by means of officials, mostly Assyrian, appointed by him, upheld by his armies and authority, ruling as his representatives and paying tribute to the dominant central power. Certain it is, also, that this system continued to be used by his successors in the kingdom of Assyria, and later, by the kings of Babylon and by Cyrus. To give all of the proofs for these statements would too much enlarge the extent of this chapter.

[1] See the Cyrus *Cylinder*, 13. Winckler makes Gutium a term to denote the country north of Babylonia probably of undefined and shifting limits, but embracing in the time of Cyrus the whole country between the Euphrates and Tigris (*Untersuchungen*, p. 131). It has been shown above that there may well have been 120 satraps in this kingdom, whether it were of the larger or smaller extent.

Sufficient, however, will now be given to satisfy the unprejudiced reader, that aside from the mere change of the names of the officials from Assyrio-Babylonian to Persian, no change, except along the line of development of Sargon's original conception and organization, can be traced to Darius Hystaspis. Notice, we admit that Darius Hystaspis was the first to thoroughly organize the Persian government as Canon Rawlinson has clearly shown,[1] and that he carried on the government by means of subordinates commonly called satraps: but we claim, that such a system of government, less perfectly organized, was in existence for at least two hundred years before this time, and that while the Persians did introduce a new name for the subordinate rulers of the subject states, they did not essentially change the system in vogue before this time. They simply perfected a system which was already in existence, and which has been called from them the satrapial system. This system involved three principles:—a government by officials representing the king and appointed by him, a fixed burden of tribute, and "the establishment of a variety of checks and counterpoises among the officials to whom it was necessary that the crown should delegate its powers."[2] As bearing upon the present discussion, it is only necessary that we should bring forth evidence to show that the first of these three principles,—to wit, government by officials representing the king and appointed by him, was in existence before the time of Darius Hystaspis, and especially that it was in existence under Cyrus, and that it would have been used by a sub-king of Cyrus, such as we believe Darius the Mede to have been. Before citing our evidence, it may be well to summarize

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii, 416 *seq.* [2] Rawlinson, *id.*, iii, 417.

the main points of the satrapial system of government as they are given in that most excellent work of the late Canon Rawlinson, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, which he gives us in the third volume of his *Ancient Monarchies*, in the seventh chapter of his history of the Fifth Monarchy, in his account of the organization of the empire of Persia. For convenience of comparison with the system of the predecessors of Darius Hystaspis, what Prof. Rawlinson says may be treated under the following captions.

First, the satraps were appointed by the king, but the native kings sometimes were allowed to reign as subordinates.

Secondly, they had some of the powers and prerogatives of a king, *i. e.*, they had armies, levied taxes, and possessed palaces and seraglios.

Thirdly, the subject nations were allowed "to retain their languages, habits, manners, religion, laws, and modes of local government."

Beginning our evidence that the Assyrians had a government similar to that of the Persians with Sargon, the king of Assyria, who reigned from 722 to 705 B.C., we find:

1. That he also appointed governors of the subject provinces and cities and sometimes allowed the native kings to reign as subordinates.

(a) As to provinces, he is found using the frequently recurring phrase "my officers I set as governors over them," *e. g.* in the *Annals* (lines 7–10, Winckler's edition), Sargon says that he appointed his officers to be governors over the lands of Rapiku, all Chaldea, Hasmar, the distant Medes, Namri, Illibi, Bit-Hamban, Parsua, Man, Urartu, Kasku, Tabal, and Muski.[1]

[1] *Amelu shuparshakishu shaknuti ileshunu ishtakkanu.* So also in the

In line 19 of the same inscription, he speaks of the shaknu, or deputy-governor, of the city of Babylon and of the shaknu of the land of Gambuli, and in line 12 of placing an officer as bel piḥati over the whole of the broad land of Miluhhi (Ethiopia) including Egypt (unless Ashdod alone is meant in the passage). In the *Display* inscription 17–22, he speaks of setting his officers as governors (bel piḥati) over Jatnana, Muski, the broad land of Aḥarri (Amurri), the entire land of the Hittites, all Gutium, the distant Medes, Illibi, Rashi, the tribes of the Lu', the Rubu', the Harilum, the Kaldudu, the Hamranu, the Ubulum, the Ru'ua, the Li'ittaui, the Gambulu, the Hindaru, the Pukudu, all the desert-dwelling Suti of Jatburi, certain cities of Elam, the land of Ganduniash, upper and lower, the land of Bit-mukkani, the land of Bit-Dakkuri, the land of Bit-Shilani, the whole land of Bit-Sa'alla, all the land of Kaldi, the land of Bit-Jakin, and the region of Dilmun.[1]

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inscription from *Hall* xiv, p. 29, he says he had appointed his officers to be deputies (*shaknuti*) over Media, Illipi, Andia, Zikirtu, Man, the Hittite lands of Gargamish and Kummuh and Kammanu, and his governors (*bel pihati*) over Gamgumi, (perhaps) Egypt, and Miluhhi (certainly), Ashdod, Bit-Humri, Kasku, Tabal, Hilakku, Muski, Gaza, the sub-kingdoms of Jatnana, Kaldu,—the totality of which proud land he divided between the deputies (*shaknuti*) of Babylon and Gambulu, —Dilmun, Sharru, Hatti, Gutium, Rashi, Elam, the Arameans on the Tigris, the Suti, Jutluri, Sam'una, Ganduniash, and Bit-Jakin.

[1] For similar statements, see, also the *Pavement* inscription ii, 4–16, iii, 5–22, v, 14–27. On the *Pavement* inscription iv, 16–27, he says that he placed governors (*shaknuti*) over Shurda, Harhar, Media, Illipi, Andia, Zikirtu, Man, Amatti, Kummuhi, and Kammanu; and on *IV* he says further, that he put his governor (*bel pihati*) over Bit-Humria, Jamnaai, Kasku, all Tabal, Hilakku, Muski, Rapihi, Ja' Jatnanu, Kaldi, Babylon, Gambuli, Dilmun, Amurru, Hatti, Gutium, Media, Illipi, Rashi, the people of Itu; Rubu', Harilum, Kaldudu, Hamranu, Ubulum, Ru'ua, Litaai, Hindaru, Pukudu, the desert-dwelling Suti of the

Frequent mention also is made by Sargon of governors of particular countries. Thus, in the *Annals*, line 188, he gave over the land of Kammanu to his officer (*amelu shuparshakia*); in line 214, he sets an officer (*amelu shuparshakia*) as bel pihati over the new inhabitants of the land of Gamgumi; in line 372, he speaks of his officer the deputy governor of the land of Ḳui;[1] in line 401, he says he numbered Muttallu of Kummuh among the governors of his land;[2] in the stele inscription i, 63, he speaks of putting his officer as governor (*shaknu*) over the land of the Assyrians whom he had settled in the land of Hammath.

(b) As to cities, also, we find a similar phrase, "I set my officer as governor over it," e. g., *Annals*, lines 11–17, "my officer I set as deputy[3] over the city of Samaria." Line 68, he sets an officer as governor (*bel pihati*) over Kishshim and in line 72 he does the same for Harhar; in line 399 he does the same for Uliddu which he settled with people from Bit-Jakin and reckoned this governor among the governors of his land (line 401).

(c) Or, the governor or deputy, may have been set over several cities, *e. g.*, in *Annals*, line 22, he sets his officer as governor (*bel pihati*) over Ashdod, Gaza, and Asdudimmu.

(d) Also, there might be one deputy appointed over a number of native rulers of one land, *e. g.*, in *Annals*, 254–259, he puts over the sheikhs (*nasikati*) of Gambuli one of his officers as governor (*bel pihati*).

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land of Jatburi, Sam'una, Ganduniash upper and lower, Bit-Amukkani, Bit-Dakuri, Bit-Shilani, Bit-Sa' alla, all the land of Kaldi, Bit-Jakin, and Dilmun.

[1] *Amelu shuparshakia amelu shaknuka mati Ḳui.*

[2] *Itti amelu bel pihati Matiya.*

[3] *Shaknu;* but *Display* inscription i, 22 *bel pihati.*

(e) Also, there might be several deputies in one land, *e. g.*, in the *Display* inscription i, 38, Sargon speaks of the great deputies (*shaknuti rabuti*) of the land of the Manneans.

(f) We find, also, that the native kings were in some cases permitted to continue their reign as subordinates to the central authority at Nineveh. *E. g.*, in the *Annals*, lines 97, 98, it is said that Sargon received tribute from Pharaoh, king of Egypt, Samsi, queen of Aribbi, and It'anna, king of the Sabeans. In line 215–219, Sargon tells how he deposed Azuri, king of Ashdod, and set up his brother Ahimiti in his place. In the *Display* inscription, lines 145–149, he tells of the submission and tribute of the sub-kings of Ja' in Jatnuna (Cyprus).

(g) The extent of the country ruled over by these satraps varied from time to time. *E. g.*, in the *Annals*, 42–45, Sargon says that he captured Shinuhtu, the capital of Kiakki, and gave it to Matti of the land of Atun. In 66 and 67 he conquered certain districts of the land of Naksama and added them to the province of Parsuash.[1] In 67–70, he conquered the land of Bit-Sagbat, and several others, and joined them to the government of Kisheshim, whose name he had changed to Ḳar-Aden. In 70–73, he conquers the Urikatu and five other districts (*nagi*) and adds them to the prefecture of Harhar, changing the name to Ḳarsharrukin. In 99, 100, he takes two fortresses from Mita, king of Muski, and adds them to the land of Kui. In 365–369, he conquers parts of Elam and gives them into the hands of his officials the deputies (*shaknuti*) of Babylon and Gambuli.

[1] *Eli pihat mati Parsuash.*

2. The governors of Sargon, like the satraps of Persia, had many of the powers and prerogatives of a king.

(a) They had armies under their command. For example, Sargon says in his *Annals*, 304–307, that he sent his governors (*bel pihati*) against the Hamaranai who had taken possession of Sippar. In 371–379, he says, that while he himself had been conquering the Chaldeans and Arameans, his official, the deputy of Kui, had been sent against Mita, king of Muski, had conquered him and brought some thousands of his warriors as prisoners before him in Elam. In 386, he sends a trusty officer with chosen troops on an expedition apparently to Cyprus, and he brings back the booty to Sargon in Babylon. In 388–399, he sent his officers with their troops against Muttallu of Kummuh, who conquered him and brought the booty to Sargon at Kalhu, and he made his officers governors over the newly conquered country. In 408 he sent some of his governors (*bel pihati*) to aid Ispabara in the war against the king of Elam.

(b) They levied taxes. This is implied in the fact that they all paid tribute to the king of Assyria. *E. g.*, in *Annals*, 10, it is said, that Sargon placed his governors over the lands of Chaldea, Media, Tabal, and others, and placed upon them a tribute. This tribute they levied as they saw fit, the Assyrian kings caring more for the money than for the means by which it was gotten. A good example of the fact that the governors levied taxes is found in the *Annals* of Ashurbanipal, Col. ix, 117, where it says, that the people of Usu had shown themselves disobedient to their governors and had given them no tribute; whereupon Ashurbanipal himself punished the rebellious people.

(c) They had palaces. For example, when the king

of the city of Ashdod refused to give tribute, Sargon besieged and conquered it and spoiled the treasure of his palace.[1] Kiakki, also, of the city of Shinuhtu was thinking of not paying his tribute, when Sargon conquered him and captured his wife, sons, daughters, and his palace servants.[2] Pishiri of Carchemish rebelled and Sargon captured the treasures of his palace;[3] so, also, with Bel-shur-uṣur of Kisheshim.[4] Again, Ashurbanipal says in his *Annals*[5] that he captured the treasure of the palace of Dunanu of Gambuli.

(d) They had seraglios. For example, Dalta, king of Illipi, had at least two wives; for Nibi and Ispabara are called the sons of his wives.[6] Again, Ashurbanipal says in his *Annals*[7], that he captured Dunanu of Gambuli, a rebel, and his wife, his sons, his daughter and his concubines, his male and female musicians, etc.

3. The subject nations retained their own religion and local government. This is plain from the history of Israel and Judah as recorded in the Old Testament; and it was true of every other nation, so long as they did not by rebellion force the Assyrians to destroy them utterly. For example, the *nisakkus* of the Aramaic tribes retained their names and deities after they were compelled to pay tribute;[8] so with those of Gambuli,[9] and Jatbur.[10]

So also, the Egyptians, Babylonians, Arameans, Arabs, Medes, and all others were allowed to retain their own gods and worship, so long as they did not enrage the kings of Assyria beyond endurance by their rebellions. In case only of a war to the death, were the

[1] *Annals*, 215–226. [2] *Id.*, 42–44. [3] *Id.*, 46–50.
[4] *Id.* 68–70. [5] *Cyl.* D, Col. vi, 22.
[6] *Annals* of Sargon, 404. [7] *Cyl.* B, Col. vi, 10–23.
[8] *Annals*, 264–270. [9] *Id.*, 255–264. [10] *Id.*, 280–284.

gods of the enemy carried away, as was done with 20 gods of Elam, when Susa was conquered and destroyed by Ashurbanipal.[1] Once, Ashurbanipal imposed the earlier worship (?) and religious customs (?) of Ashur and Belit and the gods of Assyria upon the people of Akkad, Chaldea, Aram, and the sea-lands.[2]

Secondly, having thus shown, that the government of the Persian empire under Darius Hystaspis did not differ essentially from that of the Assyrian empire under Sargon; and that the sameness of the methods of government of the Assyrians and Persians will be evident to anyone who substitutes the word "satrap" for deputy (*shaknu*) and governor (*bel pihati*) in Sargon's inscriptions, or *vice versa*, the Assyrian words for deputy and governor for satrap in the records bearing upon the form of government among Persians,—in other words that the difference between the two systems is one of nomenclature, or language, rather than one of essence, or fact; we come next to a consideration of whether there could have been 120 satraps in the sub-kingdom of Darius the Mede. We have seen above that the sub-kingdom most probably embraced Gutium, over which Gobryas had been governor before the taking of Babylon by the Persians, Chaldea, Accad, and Susa, over which Belshazzar had most likely reigned as sub-king to Nabonaid, and Babylon, over which Belshazzar had been *de facto* king after the capture of his father Nabunaid and over which Cyrus made Gobryas governor after its conquest. Having been given so much of the Babylonian empire, it is altogether probable, also, that Cyrus, who was busied with the affairs of his wars and much greater empire, extending from the Indus to the Bosphorus, may have entrusted the whole of the

[1] Rassam *Cylinder*, Col. vi, 30–44. [2] *Id.*, Col. iv, 97–107.

realm of Nabunaid to Gobryas, this trusty servant and able general, to administer in his behalf and as his representative. At any rate, no one knows anything to the contrary. It is probable, again, that Cyrus, when he had seized Ecbatana, after the defeat and capture of Astyages,[1] would deliver the governorship of Media into the hands of one of the Medes who had been a partisan of his cause during the conflct with Astyages. As late, certainly, as Darius Hystaspis, subjects other than Persian, especially Medes, were at times made deputy rulers for the king of Persia. For example, Dadarshish, an Armenian, was the general of Cyrus in command against the rebellious Armenians.[2] This Dadarshish may be the same man who is later called a Persian, who was satrap of Bactria.[3] Again, Takhmaspada and Vindafra, both Medes, were generals of Darius Hystaspis in his wars against the rebellious Sagartians and Babylonians.[4] Further, Darius Hystaspis announces it as his policy and custom to favor all who are friendly to him and to his family.[5] The traditions of the Medes and Persians, as embodied in Herodotus and Xenophon, would lead us also to believe that Cyrus treated the Medes and their rulers as his especial favorites and with singular deference and kindness. So that, we can well believe that the realm over which this subordinate Median king, Darius the Mede, ruled may have been as great even as the realm of Sargon of Assyria. Now, then, for the point. Sargon of Assyria, on the inscriptions which have come down to us and which are published by Winckler, mentions by name one hundred and fifteen lands and seventeen

[1] See inscription of Abu Habba, i., 28–33, and the Cyrus *Chronicle*, 3, 1–3. [2] *Behistun Insc.* ii, 29. [3] *Id.*, iii, 13, 14.
[4] *Id.*, ii, 82 and iii, 83. [5] *Id.*, i, 20–22, iv, 65–67.

peoples, which were tributary to him; and in most cases states that these tributary countries and peoples were ruled by deputies, or governors, appointed by himself. Why, then, may not another king coming between his time and that of Darius Hystaspis have had one hundred and twenty deputies, or governors (call them satraps, if you please), appointed by him to rule the subject lands and peoples in his stead? Even if Darius Hystaspis thoroughly organized the satrapies and enlarged them and reduced their number to twenty, as Herodotus implies,[1] this would not prove anything as to the number which the kings of Assyria after Sargon had, nor as to the number which the kings of Babylon had, nor as to the number which Cyrus and Cambyses had, nor as to the number which a sub-king under Cyrus had. Granting that there was a Darius the Mede, ruling a kingdom which was a part of the Persian empire, who can say how many, or how few, deputies and governors he may have appointed to administer his kingdom for him? A rose by another name would smell as sweet. So, whether you call these legates of the king satraps or shaknus or deputy-governors, it matters not. It is the thing and not the name of the thing, that is important here.

But, again, when Dr. Driver says, that Darius Hystaspis on the Behistun Inscription enumerates in one place (Col. i, par. 6) twenty-three satrapies and in the later (sepulchral) inscription of *Naksh-i-Rustam* (lines 7–19) twenty-nine, he is begging the question at issue. For, first, on neither of these inscriptions is it said that Darius Hystaspis divided his kingdom into satrapies, few or many. Countries only are mentioned. Thus we read on the Behistun Inscription (Col. i, 13–27):

[1] Book III, 89.

These are the countries which submitted to me; through the might of Auramazda, I became their king; Persia, Susiana, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, which is on the sea, Sparda, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Asia, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, the Sacæ, the Sattagetæ, Arachosia and Maka, altogether twenty-three countries. Thus saith Darius the king. These are the lands which submitted to me; through the grace of Auramazda they became my servants, they brought me tribute, what was commanded them by me day or night, they fulfilled.

In the *Naksh-i-Rustam* inscription v., 19, we read:

Thus saith Darius the king; Through the grace of Auramazda, these are the lands, which I seized outside Persia; I ruled them; they brought me tribute; what I commanded them, they did; my law was observed; Media, Elam, Parthia, Aremu, Bactria, Sug'da, Chorasmia, Zaranka, Arachosia, Sattagytia, Gandaria, India, the Saka Humavarka, the Saka Tigrakhauda, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparda, Ionia, the Saka who are beyond the sea, the Sk'udra, the Ionians Takabara, the Patiya, the K'ashiya, the Maciya, the Karkas.

Dr. Driver might have mentioned, also, the inscription of Persepolis,[1] where we find:

Thus saith king Darius; Through the grace of Auramazda, these are the lands which I rule with my Persian army, which feared before me and brought me tribute; Elam, Media, Babylon, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparda, Ionia of the continent, and those of the islands; and these lands in the East, Asagarta, Parthia, Zaranka, Aria, Bactria, Sug'da, Chorasmia, Sattagytia, Arachosia, India, Gandara, Saka, Maka.

[1] Spiegel, *Altpersische Keilinschriften*. p. 49.

As to the rulers of these countries, he speaks twice only of satraps, once of Dadarshish, a Persian, who was a satrap in Bactria, and once of a Vivana who was satrap in Arachosia. Notice, that we have said *in* Bactria and *in* Arachosia, not *of* Bactria and *of* Arachosia. For Spiegel and Weisbach and Bang translate the words for Bactria and Arachosia as if the cases were locatives, rather than genitives. We confess that we are not convinced that they *must* be locatives rather than genitives. But, on the other hand, they *may* be locatives as well as genitives. And, if they be locatives, then Darius Hystaspis says simply, that these men were satraps, one in Bactria and the other in Arachosia, admitting the possibility of one or more satraps in either country. The case ending being ambiguous, the testimony from the case ending must, also, be ambiguous; so that as evidence on either side in this controversy, it can determine nothing. If the case be the genitive, then we must admit, that these two countries, Bactria and Arachosia, each had a satrap at some time before the Behistun Inscription was made. This would not prove that the other countries had them at all, much less that they each had but one. If, on the other hand, it be admitted that the case is a locative, then Bactria and Arachosia may have had more than one satrap and the whole argument derived from there being a satrap over each country and only about thirty countries for satraps to rule over would fall to the ground. Here, also, let me reiterate the statement, that even if Darius Hystaspis organized his kingdom into about thirty satrapies, this would not prove anything as to the number or organization before his time, —under Cyrus, for example.

Further, we cannot gather from the Behistun Inscrip-

tion, that these two satraps there mentioned were anything more than generals of the armies of their respective countries where they hailed from. Neither of them is ever spoken of as having performed any duties except as general of an army, Dadarshish against the rebellious Margians and Vivana against the Persians.

Nor are all the countries of his empire mentioned on any one of the inscriptions, but only those he conquered again. Again, it will be noted that no two of the lists agree exactly, either in the number or order of the countries mentioned; nor do all three lists together mention all the countries under the dominion of Darius Hystaspis, his own inscriptions being witness.

For first, the *Naksh-i-Rustam* inscription makes three divisions of the Sacæ and adds the names of the Skudra, Putiya, Kushiya, Maciya, and Karkas to those mentioned in the Behistun inscription, while it omits the Maka and Margiana. The Persepolis inscription[1] divides the Ionians into those of the continent and those of the islands and adds India to the list of conquered lands; but otherwise agrees in number and names with the Behistun, but not in the order of the names.

Secondly, it will be noted, that in the Behistun Inscription Darius Hystaspis mentions as subject to him countries other than those given in any of these lists. Such are the Autiyara (Beh. ii, 58). Kampada (Beh. ii, 27), Gandutava (Beh. iii, 65), Nisaya (Beh. i, 58), Paishiyauvada (Beh. iii, 42, perhaps a city), Patishuvar (NRc, a people), Raga (Beh. ii, 71), and Hyrcania (Beh. ii, 92). While most of these are, doubtless, subdivisions of the greater countries mentioned in the lists,

[1] H by Spiegel.

this can hardly be the case with Gandutava and Hyrcania. Thus we see that Darius Hystaspis mentions in all thirty-four distinct countries; and that, counting the lands that were subdivisions, there are forty countries all told mentioned in the Persian inscriptions as being under the rule of the great king, or king of kings.

Dr. Driver further cites Herodotus,[1] as stating that Darius Hystaspis divided his kingdom into twenty satrapies. Herein, Dr. Driver is correct in his citation. However, before discussing the bearing of this on the matter before us, we shall quote the passage at length and entirely from Herodotus, Book III, 89–97, Cary's translation. Darius

constituted twenty governments, which they called satrapies; and having constituted the governments and set governors over them, he appointed tributes to be paid to him from each nation, both connecting the adjoining people with the several nations, and omitting some neighboring people, he annexed to some others that were more remote. He distributed the governments and the annual payment of tribute in the following manner. Such of them as contributed silver were required to pay it according to the standard of the Babylonian talent; and such as contributed gold, according to the Euboic talent. The Babylonian talent is equal to seventy Euboic minæ. During the reign of Cyrus, and afterward of Cambyses, there were no fixed regulations with regard to tribute, but they brought in presents. In consequence of this imposition of tribute, and other things of a similar kind, the Persians say Darius was a trader, Cambyses a master, and Cyrus a father. The first, because he made profit of everything; the second, because he was severe and arrogant; the third, because he was mild, and always aimed at the good of his people. (90).

[1] See Bk. III, 80.

From the Ionians, the Magnesias in Asia, the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyens, and Pamphylians (for one and the same tribute was imposed on them all) there came in a revenue of four hundred talents in silver; this, then, composed the first division. From the Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians, five hundred talents; this was the second division. From the Hellespontians, who dwell on the right as one sails in, the Phrygians, the Thracians in Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians, there was a tribute of three hundred and sixty talents; this was the third division. From the Cilicians, three hundred and sixty white horses, one for every day, and five hundred talents of silver; of these a hundred and forty were expended on the cavalry, that guarded the Cilicians' territory, and the remaining three hundred and sixty went to Darius; this was the fourth division. (91). From the city of Poseideium, which Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus, founded on the confines of the Cilicians and Syrians, beginning from this down to Egypt, except a district belonging to Arabinas, which was exempt from taxation, was paid a tribute of three hundred and fifty talents; and in this division is included all Phœnicia, Syria which is called Palestine, and Cyprus; this was the fifth division. From Egypt and the Libyans bordering on Egypt, and from Cyrene and Barce (for these were annexed to the Egyptian division), accrued seven hundred talents, besides the revenue arising from Lake Moeris, which was derived from the fish; in addition, then, to this money, and the fixed supply of corn, there accrued seven hundred talents; for they furnish in addition 120,000 measures of corn for the Persians who occupy the white fortress at Memphis, and their allies; this was the sixth division. The Sattagydæ, Gandarians, Dadicæ, and Aparytæ, joined together, contributed one hundred and seventy talents; this was the seventh division. From Susa, and the rest of the country of the Cissians, three hundred talents; this was the eighth division. (92). From Babylon and the rest of Assyria there accrued to him a thousand

talents of silver and five hundred young eunuchs; this was the ninth division. From Ecbatana and the rest of Media, and the Paricanians and Orthocorybantes, four hundred and fifty talents; this was the tenth division. The Caspians, Pausicæ, Pantimathians, Daritæ, contributing together, paid two hundred talents; this was the eleventh division. From the Bactrians as far as the Aeglæ was a tribute of three hundred and sixty talents; this was the twelfth division. (93). From Pactyica, and the Armenians, and the neighboring people as far as the Euxine Sea, four hundred talents; this was the thirteenth division. From the Sagartians, Thamanæans, Sarangeans, Utians, Mycians, and those who inhabit the islands of the Red Sea, in which the king settles transported convicts, from all these came a tribute of six hundred talents; this was the fourteenth division. The Sacæ and Caspians paid two hundred and fifty talents; this was the fifteenth division. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians, three hundred talents; this was the sixteenth division. (94). The Paricanians and Asiatic Ethiopians paid four hundred talents; this was the seventeenth division. The Matienians, Saspires, and Alarodians were taxed at two hundred talents; this was the eighteenth division. From the Moschians, Tibarenians, Macronians, Mosynœcians, and Marsians, three hundred talents were demanded; this was the nineteenth division. Of the Indians the population is by far the greatest of all nations whom we know of, and they paid a tribute proportionally larger than all the rest—three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust; this was the twentieth division. (95). Now the Babylonian standard, compared with the Euboic talent, makes the total nine thousand five hundred and forty talents; and the gold, estimated at thirteen times the value of silver, the gold dust will be found to amount to four thousand six hundred and eighty Euboic talents. Therefore, if the total of all these are computed together, fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Euboic talents were collected by Darius as an annual tribute; and passing over sums

less than these, I do not mention them. (96). This tribute accrued to Darius from Asia and a small part of Libya; but, in the course of time, another tribute accrued from the islands and the inhabitants of Europe as far as Thessaly. This tribute the king treasures up in the following manner; having melted it, he pours it into earthen jars, and having filled it, he takes away the earthen mold, and when he wants money, he cuts off so much as he wants from time to time.

(97). These, then, were the governments and the imposts on each. The Persian territory alone has not been mentioned as subject to tribute, for the Persians occupy their land free from taxes. They, indeed, were not ordered to pay any tribute, but brought gifts. The Ethiopians bordering on Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued when he marched against the Macrobian-Ethiopians, and who dwell about the sacred city of Nysa, and celebrate festivals of Bacchus—these Ethiopians and their neighbors use the same grain as the Calantian Indians, and live in subterraneous dwellings—both these bring every third year, and they continued to do so to my time, two chœnices of unmolten gold, two hundred blocks of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty large elephants' tusks. The Colchians numbered themselves among those who gave presents, as well as the neighboring nations, as far as Mount Caucasus; for to this mountain the dominions of Persia extend; but the people to the north side of the Caucasus pay no regard to the Persians. These, then, for the gifts they imposed on themselves, furnished even to my time, every five years, one hundred boys and one hundred virgins. The Arabians also furnished every year a thousand talents of frankincense. These, then, brought to the king the above gifts, besides the tribute.

By comparing these satrapies of Herodotus with the countries mentioned in the Persian inscriptions, it will be seen, first, that Herodotus sometimes includes two or more of the countries named by Darius in

one of his satrapies. For example, the sixteenth satrapy of Herodotus embraces four countries of the inscriptions, Parthia, Chorasmia, Sogdiana, and Aria; the seventh contained the Sattagytæ, and the Gandarians as well as two other peoples not mentioned on the monuments, to wit, the Dadicæ and the Aparytæ; and the fourteenth contained the Sarangians (Drangians) and Mycians (Maciya) of the *Naksh-i-Rustam* inscription, and, also, the Sagartians, Thamaneans, Utians, and the inhabitants of the islands of the Red Sea.

Secondly, the monuments mention some countries which Herodotus does not. For example, Arachosia, Maka, Sparda (?), the Patiya, the Kushiya (Cissians?), and the Karkas.

Thirdly, Herodotus names many countries and even whole satrapies which are not named on the monuments. For example, of the five countries named as in the second division, or satrapy, of Herodotus, not one is found on any of the inscriptions. Two of these countries are those of the familiar Mysians and Lydians and the others are those of the unfamiliar Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians.

Again, Herodotus divides Asia Minor, on the near side of the river Halys, into four satrapies; whereas in this region, the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis mention only the Ionians and the Cappadocians.

It will be seen that the testimony of Herodotus does not agree with that of the Persian inscriptions as to the number and limits of the satrapies, even if we should admit that the inscriptions do refer to satrapies at all, when they name the countries which submitted to the rule of the Persian king.

Further, and finally, let us say that it seems to us

impossible, with our present knowledge of the whole subject, to reconcile the statements of Herodotus as to the number and extent of the satrapies as recorded in Book III, 89-97, with those made by him in other places, or with those made by Thucydides, Xenophon, Arrian, and Strabo. The evidence seems to show that like the governments of Sargon the number and extent of the satrapies was a shifting quantity; that a satrap might have satraps under him; that the name satrap was indefinite, and corresponded not merely to the *shaknus* and *bel pihatis* of the Assyrio-Babylonians, but to the satraps, archons, and hyparchons of the Greeks and to the satraps, sagans, and pehoths of the Aramaic of Daniel: so that, in conclusion, we may say with some degree of confidence, that the case against the possibility of the appointment by Darius the Mede, a sub-king, satrap, or *bel pihati*, under Cyrus, of 120 satraps under him "to be in all his kingdom" is not supported by the evidence.

The book of Daniel says that such an appointment was made. We have endeavored to show, that there is nothing in language or history against the possibility of such an appointment. Until, therefore, *proofs*, not *ipse dixits* and assertions, can be produced to show that the book of Daniel is wrong, and that this statement with regard to satraps cannot be true, we hope, that our readers will agree with us, that according to the laws of evidence, we are justified in holding to the veracity and historicity of Dan. vi, 1, when it says: that "it pleased Darius [the Median, chap. v, 31] to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes (satraps) which should be over the whole kingdom." The burden of proof rests upon those who assail the veracity of this statement.

CHAPTER XI

DARIUS THE MEDE NOT A REFLECTION OF DARIUS HYSTASPIS

VI. It is assumed, further, that "Darius the Mede is a reflection of Darius Hystaspis."[1]

Can the author of the charge of this confusion of the relationship between Darius and Xerxes not see, that if the author of the book of Daniel did not know more about Darius Hystaspis than to suppose that he was the son instead of the father of Xerxes, that Darius Hystaspis was a poor subject for reflection into the past? Such discrepancies between reflector and reflected are to us sufficient proof that no such reflection was made. Let us inquire then: What evidence have we, in the book of Daniel, that its author knew anything about Darius Hystaspis? or that he reflected back the words and deeds and circumstances of Darius Hystaspis to his supposititious homonymous Mede? All that is recorded in the book of Daniel with regard to Darius the Mede are the following facts:

First, he received the kingdom, apparently as the immediate successor of Belshazzar, the Chaldean king (chapter v, 31).

Secondly, he was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans (ix, 1).

[1] See p. 162 above.

Thirdly, he was about 62 years of age at the time he became king of this realm (v, 31).

Fourthly, it pleased this Darius to set over his realm 120 satraps who should be throughout the whole kingdom (vi, 1).

Fifthly, over these satraps there were three presidents (vi, 2).

Sixthly, these satraps were to give account to these presidents that the king should have no damage, (vi, 2).

Seventhly, Daniel was one of these presidents (vi, 2).

Eighthly, Daniel was a friend to the king (vi, 14, 16, 20, 23).

Ninthly, Daniel confirmed and strengthened the king (xi, 1).

Tenthly, Darius sought to set Daniel over the whole realm (vi, 3).

Eleventhly, Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

Twelfthly, this Darius made four decrees: one, that no man should pray to any god but himself (vi, 5–9); a second, ordering Daniel to be cast into the den of lions (vi, 16); a third, commanding the accusers of Daniel to be cast into the same den from which Daniel had been delivered (vi, 24); and a fourth, magnifying the God of Daniel because of the manner in which he had delivered his servant Daniel (vi, 25–27).

Thirteenthly, this Darius was a mixture of weakness and cruelty, as is shown in his treatment of Daniel and his accusers.

Fourteenthly, Darius the Mede was a son of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) of the seed of the Medes (ix, 1).

Fifteenthly, Darius the Mede reigned either before, or along with, Cyrus the Persian.

Now, on the basis of these statements of the book of

Daniel with regard to Darius the Mede, the question to ask in this connection is: Do we know anything of the life of Darius Hystaspis which will cause us to conclude that these statements were reflections of his words and deeds and character?

In answering this question, it will be sufficient to consider the following matters.

First, the name Darius and the family relationships of the two Dariuses, the Mede and the Persian.

Secondly, the age at which they respectively became kings (Herod., I, 209).[1]

Thirdly, the manner in which they became king.[2]

Fourthly, the kingdoms over which they ruled.[3]

Fifthly, their relations to other kings.[4]

Sixthly, the methods of government pursued by each.[5]

Seventhly, the possibility of a man like Daniel standing in such a relation to the king as the book of Daniel says that he did.[6]

Eighthly, the characters of the Dariuses.[7]

First, then, what do we know about the family of Darius Hystaspis, which would cause us to believe that the author of Daniel reflected him back into the period preceding, or contemporaneous with, Cyrus the king of Persia who conquered Babylon? Fortunately, on the father's side, we can be as sure of the origin of Darius Hystaspis, as it is possible to be with regard to any man. At the very outset of the Behistun Inscription, he says of himself:

> I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of lands, the son of Hystaspis, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenid. Darius the king says: My father is Hystaspis, the father of Hystaspis

[1] See p. 238. [2] See p. 240. [3] See p. 243 [4] See p. 244.
[5] See p. 247. [6] See p. 253. [7] See p. 259.

was Arsames, the father of Arsames was Ariaramnes, the father of Ariaramnes was Teispes, the father of Teispes was Achæmenes.

He repeats this genealogy exactly in the first of the smaller inscriptions of Behistun and in the first of the Persepolis inscriptions. In nearly all of the other inscriptions of Darius, he is called the son of Hystaspis, the Achæmenid. In the *Naksh-i-Rustam* inscription, he adds that he was "a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan seed." In the Suez inscription C, he adds: "I am a Persian." In the Behistun Inscription, he says, "our family from old has been royal, eight of my family have before this been kings. I am the ninth. In two lines, we are nine kings."

It will be noted that in these inscriptions Darius makes the following points with regard to his genealogy: that, he was an Aryan by race, a Persian by nationality, an Achæmenid by family, a king by right of birth, and the son of a man called Hystaspis. On the other hand the book of Daniel says, that his Darius was a Mede by nationality and race (for he was of the seed of the Medes, ix, 1), and that his father was called Ahasuerus (Xerxes). Except the name and the race for the Medes and Aryans therefore, there is no similarity between the two Dariuses, as far as genealogy is concerned.

But, it will be said, it is absurd to suppose, that the author of the book of Daniel gained his information with regard to Darius from Persian sources. The Greeks, however, give the same genealogies as the Persians themselves. For, Herodotus says,[1] that Darius was the "son of Hystaspis, son of Arsames, one of the Achæmenides," and that Hystaspis "was governor

[1] Book I, 209.

(*hyparchos*) of Persia,"[1] and that Darius was a Persian.[2] All the other classical authorities agree with Herodotus in these particulars with reference to Darius Hystaspis; so that the author of Daniel could not have derived his information from them and have been ignorant of these family relationships. The reflection of Darius Hystaspis' genealogy cannot, therefore, have been derived from Greek sources.

There remains, then, nothing but the Hebrew sources of information, and here the only sources of which we know, outside of Daniel itself, are Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, and Zechariah. Without discussing the subject of which Darius they mean, it is sufficient to say that they speak of Darius simply[3] or of Darius the king[4] or of king Darius,[5] or of Darius, king of Persia,[6] or of Darius, the Persian.[7]

Since, lastly, the Babylonian monuments give us no information with reference to the genealogy of Darius Hystaspis, apart from the duplicate of the Persian inscription mentioned above, never calling him by any title except "king of Babylon" or "king of the lands," or a combination of the two; it is obvious that the author of the book of Daniel, even granting, for the sake of argument, that he did live in the second century B.C., could not, so far as we know, have had any information with regard to Darius Hystaspis, which would have caused him to call him a Mede, or the son of Xerxes.

[1] *Id.* III, 70.

[2] III, 73. Sometimes, in a loose sense, the Greek historians speak of a king of Persia as "the Mede." But this appellation never occurs in genealogical statements.

[3] As in Ezra v, 5, vi, 12, 14 (?), Hag. ii, 10, Zech. i, 1, 7.

[4] As in Ezra v, 6, 7, vi, 1, 13, 15, Hag. i, 1, 15.

[5] As in Zech. vii, 1.

[6] As in Ezra iv, 5, 24, vi, 14 (?).

[7] As in Neh. xii, 22.

The genealogy of the Darius of Daniel may have been a creation of the imagination, but it cannot have been a reflection of that of Darius, the son of Hystaspis, the son of Arsames, the son of Ariaramnes, the son of Teispes, the son of Achæmenes,—of the Darius who was a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Aryan, of Aryan seed.

Again, it is assumed, that the author of Daniel supposed Xerxes to be the father and not the son of Darius. This is a fine example of what is called begging the question. Of course, it will be admitted by everyone, that, if the author of Daniel meant Darius Hystaspis by his Darius, then he made a mistake in saying that the father of Darius Hystaspis was Xerxes (Ahasuerus). For, there is no doubt that Darius, the first Persian king of that name, was the son of Hystaspis. He calls himself the son of Hystaspis on nearly every one of his inscriptions. He claims also to be a Persian of the family of the Achæmenids.[1] This is the testimony, also, of Herodotus;[2] and, so far as we know, of every other witness. It has never been denied. Nor has it ever been denied that Xerxes the commander of the expedition which terminated at Salamis and Platæa was a son of Darius Hystaspis. This, Xerxes himself says in all but one of his own inscriptions; and in that one he is called simply "Xerxes the great king." Herodotus, also, calls him the son of Darius.[3]

But the question here is not about Darius the Persian; but, about Darius the Mede. If the latter were a reflection backward of Darius Hystaspis, we might well ask why the author of Daniel called him Mede and why he

[1] See especially *Behistun*, i, 1–6, A 1–8; *Elwend*, 62–70; *Persepolis*, i, 1–5, B 1–4; *Suez*, b, 4–8; *Naksh-i-Rustam*, A, 8–15.

[2] VII, 11, I, 209, III, 70, IV, 83, VII, 224 *et al.* [3] VII, 2, 11 *et al.*

called him the son of Xerxes, and why he said he was of the seed of the Medes. For the first Darius, king of Persia, is explicit in all three of these points. He says he was a Persian, the son of Hystaspis, the son of a Persian, and of Aryan seed.[1] In all of these points, except the last, Daniel and the inscriptions of Darius differ. As to the last, since the Medes were a division of the Aryans,[2] it is clear that both the Dariuses are represented as Aryans. But here the sameness of description of them ends. One was a Mede; the other, a Persian. One was the son of Xerxes; the other the son of Hystaspis. One had a son named Xerxes, who succeeded him on the throne of Persia; the other, may, or may not, have had a son, and if he had, we know not his name, nor whether he succeeded to the government of any part of his father's dominions.

It is no proof that a Xerxes was not the father of Darius the Mede, to say that we know nothing from any other source about the existence of this Xerxes.

Having thus shown clearly that there is no doubt, nor ever was any doubt, as to who Darius Hystaspis was as to race, nation, family, and paternity; and that the Darius the Mede of Daniel, whoever he may have been, cannot have been in these respects a reflection of Darius Hystaspis; we might ask whether after all it is true that history affords us no hint as to who Darius the Mede may have been. Can such a Darius have existed? May he have had a father called Xerxes? May he have been of the seed of the Medes?

Taking these three questions up in order, we ask, first, whether a Mede called Darius may have reigned for a time over Chaldea and Babylon as a contemporary of Cyrus and a sub-king under him? Having already

[1] See *Naksh-i-Rustam* inscription, a, 8–15. [2] Herodotus, VII, 62.

shown above the possibility of someone's having thus reigned, we shall here confine ourselves to the question of whether this sub-ruler may have been called Darius.

In the first place, then, let it be said, that four of the kings of Persia who called themselves Darius or Artaxerxes assumed these names at the time of their accession. They were to them regnal names. Just as Octavianus assumed the name Augustus, or the first and third Bonapartes took the name Napoleon as their regnal name; so, we are told that the two Ochuses, and Arsaces the son of Darius Ochus, and Codomannus, all changed their names, or at least assumed another name when they became king. Thus Darius the Second was at first called Ochus by the Persians. By the Greeks, he is called Nothus. On the inscriptions, he is called simply and always, Darius "king of the lands."[1] Arsaces, his son, the brother of Cyrus the Younger, changed his name to Artaxerxes, when he became king; but was known to the Greeks as Artaxerxes Mnemon. On the inscriptions, he is known simply as Artaxerxes. Thus on the Susa inscription, we read, "Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands, the king of the earth, the son of king Darius," etc. On a contract tablet from his reign, he is called simply Artaxerxes, the king of the lands.[2]

Artaxerxes the Third was called Ochus before he became king and continued to be so called by the Greeks even after his accession. Lastly, Darius Codomannus is said to have assumed the name of Darius when he became king.[3]

[1] See the subscriptions to the tablets from his reign published in BE., vol. viii, Prof. A. T. Clay, editor.

[2] See BE., vol. x, p. 2, and vol. ix, No. 1, 1. 33.

[3] Rawlinson: *Anc. Mon.*, iii, 515.

This custom of thus changing one's name upon ascending the throne, may account for the fact, that so many of the rebels against Darius Hystaspis are represented by him as changing their names as soon as they raised the standard of rebellion. Thus, Nadintu-Bel and Atrina changed their names to Nebuchadnezzar, and claimed to be sons of Nabunaid; Martiya is said to have taken the name Imanish; and Fravartish assumed the name Khshatrita.[1] So, among the kings of Assyria, Pul assumed Tiglath-Pileser as his regnal name; Sargon was probably the regal name of a man who had some other name before he became king; Ashurbanipal probably reigned in Babylon under the name Kandalanu; the great Cyrus himself is said by Herodotus to have had another name by which he was known while a boy.[2] Astyages according to Ctesias had also the name Aspodas. Cambyses the father of Cyrus the Great is called Atradates by Nicolaus Damascenus.[3] Lastly, Artaxerxes II was called Arshu and Artaxerxes III Umasu before they became kings.[4]

From all the above facts, we may conclude that it is certainly probable that Darius the Mede was known by some other name before he became king. If we assume that the pre-regnal name was Ugbaru (Gobryas), then we have a man whose history as revealed by the Cyrus *Cylinder*, by Xenophon in his *Cyropædia*, and

[1] *Behistun Inscr.*, iv, 10–31. [2] Bk. I, 113.

[3] Rawlinson: *Ancient Monarchies*, iii, p. 368.

[4] See the astronomical tables published by Kugler in *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, page 82, where we read: *ultu shatti 18 KAN Arshu sha Artakshatsu sharru shumushu nabu adi qat shatti 13 KAN Umasu sha Artakshatsu sharru nabu*, i. e., from the 18th year of Arshu, whose name was called Artaxerxes the king, till the 13th year of Umasu, whose name is called Artaxerxes the king.

by the book of Daniel, is perfectly consistent with itself and with all the information revealed in all the sources.

But, did Ugbaru have a father named Xerxes? We have no information on this subject, except that the writer of Daniel says that the father of his Darius was Xerxes. Now, it is perfectly certain, that if there was a Darius the Mede at all, he must have had a father, and this father must have had a name. Why not, then, a father named Xerxes? There is nothing known about the naming, or the name, of Xerxes the son of Darius Hystaspis to show that he was the first of that name; and we know from the fact that there was a Xerxes the Second the son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, that Xerxes the Great was not the last, nor the only, one of that name. Why, then, may there not have been a third of the name, preceding the first, and a Median, as the second and third of the name were Persians?

It is not enough simply to assert that the writer of Daniel became confused and stated by mistake that Xerxes was the father instead of the son of Darius. This might be accepted as an explanation of an error of the kind, after the error had been proven. But to make the assertion of confusion in order to prove the error is contrary to all the laws of evidence and common sense. That John Smith's son is named Peter does not prove that another Peter Smith's father was not called John. That a Henry king of England followed a Richard does not prove that a Richard had not followed a Henry sometime before. Blessed is the man who knows his own father; twice blessed is he, who knows the father of a man living more than two thousand years ago.

It might be well just here to ask how two Medes

could have had names which we certainly know were each the name of several kings of Persia. That is, could two Medes of the time of Cyrus have had the names Xerxes and Darius? Or, are not these names in themselves evidence of a reflection backward of Darius Hystaspis and his son Xerxes, and of a confusion between their relationship to each other? The possibility of cogency in this argument will appear if we suppose that the author had called them by the Greek names Philip and Alexander, or Antiochus and Seleucus. Is there, then, not the same cogency in the use of Persian names for two men of supposedly Median race?

No. There is not. Because the Medes and the Persians were closely allied in race and language. Darius Hystaspis asserts that he, a Persian, was of Aryan race; and Herodotus says, that the Medes were Arians.[1] Besides, the same proper names are found in use among both Medes and Persians. Thus, Harpagus, a Mede, led the revolt of the army of the Medes which went over to Cyrus;[2] and Harpagus, a Persian general of a considerable army, is said to have taken Histiæus the Milesian prisoner.[3] The Gobryas of Xenophon, whose name is the Greek form of Ugbaru the governor of Gutium of Cyrus, was most probably a Mede; whereas the Gobryas who was one of the seven conspirators against Smerdis, the Magian, was a Persian, as was also a Gobryas, the son of Darius Hystaspis. Artembares, whose son was a playmate of Cyrus, was a Mede;[4] whereas, the Artembares mentioned later was a Persian.[5] Vindafra was a Mede who commanded the army which Darius Hystaspis sent against Babylon when it revolted

[1] VII, 62. [2] Herodotus; Bk. I, 80, and after.
[3] *Id.*, Bk. VI, 28. [4] Herodotus, I, 114. [5] Book IX, 122.

from him the second time;[1] Vindafrana was a Persian and one of the seven conspirators against Smerdis.[2] Citran-takhma, who claimed to be of the family of Uvakhshatara (*i. e.*, Cyaxares, the Median), revolted in Sagartia, and Darius Hystaspis sent against him Takhma-spada, a Median; whereas Tritan-taikmes (part of whose name is the same as Takhma-spada and part of each perhaps the same as the latter part of Citran-takhma) is called by Herodotus a son of Artabanus who was a brother of Darius Hystaspis. Further evidence that the Persian and Median languages were closely allied may be found in Rawlinson and others, though it is generally admitted that they had many dialectical differences. There is no reason, however, why the names Xerxes and Darius may not have been borne as proper names in the time of Cyrus; and by Medes.

Before leaving this subject, we might turn the question about and ask, whether there be any probable reason why the two Persian kings were called Darius and Xerxes. Could these names, possibly, have had any connection with the Xerxes and Darius of Daniel, arising from a possible relationship of blood between them? Now, we are perfectly aware, that in what follows we are treading on dangerous ground. But we feel that we are in good company; and hope that Prof. Sayce and Winckler, and the shades of a host of others, will pardon us, if we thrust ourselves forward for a little along the line which they have followed with so much brilliancy. Returning, however, to our subject, let it be said, that it has struck us with much force, that the claimants of the throne of Media and Sagartia, who rebelled against Darius Hystaspis, both assert that

[1] *Behistun Inscr.* ii, 83–87.

[2] *Id.*, iv, 83.

they were of the family of Cyaxares, not of that of Astyages; whereas the claimants to the throne of Babylon assert that they were the sons of Nabunaid. Why did the former claimants not assert their right to succeed Astyages, who, according to Herodotus, had been the last preceding king of Media, just as these latter claimed to succeed Nabunaid the last *de jure* king of Babylon? Most probably because, as Profs. Sayce and Winckler have shown and the inscriptions of Nabunaid and Cyrus certainly seem to imply, Astyages was not a Median king at all; but the king of the Manda, or Scythians. If we take Astyages to have been a Scythian, one of a race that had conquered and held in subjection the kindred peoples of the Sagartians, Medes, and Persians, we shall account reasonably for many facts that are otherwise hard to understand. Astyages, the Mandean, marries his daughter Mandane (the Mandean?) to Cambyses the king of Anshan, but seeks to slay their son Cyrus, whom he looked upon as a dangerous possible rival; doubtless, because Cyrus the Achæmenid of royal line was the legitimate head of the subject peoples, or at least, of the Persian branch of them. Harpagus, the Mede, along with another Mede named Mitradates, saves Cyrus. For this reason Harpagus is served with soup made from his own son by order of Astyages. Harpagus enrolls the Medes in a conspiracy against his master and calls in Cyrus the Persian to lead the revolt. During the classic battle, Harpagus, with the Medes under him, goes over to Cyrus, and Astyages is captured and dethroned. Cyrus, then, succeeds to the throne of Media and is royally served all through his reign, and his son Cambyses during his reign, by the Medes, who had joined with the Persians in overthrowing the

power of the Mandeans. The Mandeans had conquered a large part of the old Assyrian empire and when Cyrus overthrew Astyages, Nabunaid of Babylon recaptured a large part of the region about the Euphrates and Tigris, including, perhaps, the country of Gobryas, the governor or king of Gutium, who, judging from his name, was probably a Mede. Gobryas calls in Cyrus to his aid, and the united armies conquer Babylon; whereupon, Cyrus appoints Gobryas governor of Babylon and successor to Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans. Gobryas assumes the name of Darius as his regnal name, and rules under Cyrus over as much of his empire as was once under the Babylonian or Assyrian kings. Cyrus, however, upheld his position as overlord, and Cambyses, his son, grasped the hand of Bel of Babylon, as the legitimate successor of his father, Darius-Gobryas being under Cyrus, and probably under Cambyses, the sub-king. Contracts, however, are dated only with the name of the overlord, as they were subsequently when Zopyrus was governor of Babylonia under Darius and Megapanus under Xerxes.

This Gobryas of Gutium had a daughter who was given in marriage to Hystaspis, one of Cyrus' Persian generals, the father of Darius Hystaspis, and the governor, under Cambyses and Smerdis the Magian, over the country of Persia. Darius the Persian would thus be named after his maternal grandfather's regnal name. Then Darius the Persian marries a daughter of Cyrus, whose oldest son, born after Darius became king, he calls Xerxes, the name which according to Dan. ix, 1, had been borne by his great-grandfather. There thus unite in Xerxes all the royal families which might have laid claim to the throne. Through Mandane, the mother of Cyrus, by way of Cyrus and his daughter

Atossa, Xerxes succeeds to the right of Astyages the Mandean. Through his grandmother, the wife of Hystaspis and mother of Darius Hystaspis, he succeeds to the right of Darius Gobryas, the Mede, the son of Xerxes the Mede. Through his father Darius, the son of Hystaspis, the son of Arsames, the Achæmenid, he succeeds to the right of Cyrus and Cambyses the Achæmenids, his cousins of the royal line of Persia and Anshan. Through Darius the Mede he probably succeeded not merely to the throne of Gutium, but to that of all the Median kingdom as well. For, let it be noticed, that the Xerxes of Dan. ix, 1, is possibly the same as Cyaxares. At any rate, the Medo-Persian root *khsha* is found in both; and it is possible, at least, that Xerxes and Cyaxares are the Median and Persian forms of the same name.[1] If, then, Darius-Gobryas the Mede were the son of Xerxes-Cyaxares the last king of Media before Astyages the Mandean conquered it, he would be the legal successor to Cyaxares, and Xerxes the son of Darius Hystaspis would succeed to the Median right through him, as his father Darius Hystaspis had done before him. The importance of securing the right to the succession is obvious, when we remember, that Citrantakhma who revolted against Darius Hystaspis in Sagartia, and Parumartish who revolted against him in Media, both based their claim to the throne on the ground that they were of the family of Cyaxares.

If we accept such a genealogy for Darius Hystaspis, it will account for the fact that he and Xerxes are called Medes as well as Persians by the Greeks, although Cyrus and Cambyses are not so called; and that Xerxes is called king of Persia and of the Medes in the sub-

[1] Compare Tobit xiv, 15, where Cyaxares is called Assuerus, that is, Xerxes.

scriptions of several Babylonian tablets.[1] It will account, also, for the loyalty of the Medes to the Persian kings, for the appointment of two of them, Vindafra and Takhmaspada, to put down the great revolts in Babylon and Media under Darius Hystaspis; for the appointment of a Mede, Datis, to command the expedition against Athens, which culminated at Marathon; and for the putting of the Medes in a peculiar position next to the Persians both by the classical writers, by Darius in the Behistun Inscription, and by the Babylonians in the subscriptions to the tablets from the age of Xerxes.

This rather lengthy excursus will, we hope, make it clear to all why we believe that the statements of the author of Daniel with reference to "Darius, the Mede, the son of Xerxes, of the seed of the Medes," are consistent with what is known of the history of the times which center about Cyrus the Persian, and the fall of Babylon. We believe, that it is entirely possible to harmonize every statement of the sixth chapter of Daniel with any *facts* that have been ascertained from the monuments of Persia and Babylon, or from any other reliable sources whatsoever. It is wrong and unfair to call any man a knave or a fool, a liar or an ignoramus, unless we have certain and sufficient proofs to substantiate our assertion. It is wrong to assert that the author of Daniel attempted to reflect backward the life and acts and character of Darius Hystaspis upon a fictitious and supposititious Darius, unless we can prove it. It is wrong to say that having attempted it, he confused the persons thus reflected, so as to confound the relationship existing between them.

[1] *I. e.*, in VASD, v, 118, 119; iv, 193, 194; Strassmaier, in *Acts of 8th Congress of Orientalists*, Nos. 19, 20.

And, finally, while one could well be pardoned for doubting whether all of these statements were written without unintentional errors, or have been transmitted without corruption of text; yet, in view of the evidence, we think it is manifestly unfair, to accuse the author of them either with lack of intelligence, knowledge, candor, or consistency, or with confusions, reflections, inaccuracies, and exaggerations.

CHAPTER XII

DARIUS THE MEDE NOT A REFLECTION (*Continued*)

SECONDLY, the author of the book of Daniel cannot have reflected backward the *age* of Darius Hystaspis at the time when he became king of Persia.[1] In Dan. v, 31, it is said, that Darius the Mede received the kingdom when he was about 62 years of age. Herodotus states that Darius was only "about 20 years of age" when Cyrus just before his death had passed the Araxes on his fatal expedition against the Massagetæ; and that Darius "had been left in Persia, because he had not yet attained the age of military service."[2] He further says,[3] that Hystaspis, the father of Darius, was governor (*hyparchos*) of Persia, at the time when Darius arrived at Susa when Otanes and Gobryas, "the noblest of the Persians," were preparing their conspiracy against the false Smerdis. As the false Smerdis was killed in 521 B.C., this would make Darius to have been 79 years of age at the death of Smerdis and his father about 100 if the former had been 62 at the time of the death of Cyrus.

Further, Darius in his Behistun Inscription[4] speaks of his father Hystaspis as being still in active service as general of his forces in the war against the rebellious Parthians and Hyrcanians. His words are as follows:

[1] See p. 223. [2] Bk. I, 209. [3] Bk. III, 70.
[4] Col. ii, 92–Col. iii, 10.

Thus speaks king Darius: Parthia and Hyrcania rebelled and went over to Fravartish. Hystaspis, my father, was in Parthia; the people left him and rose in insurrection. Then Hystaspis took the people who stood by him and drew out. There is a city in Parthia called Vispauzatish; where a battle with the rebels took place. Auramazda helped me. Through the grace of Auramazda, Hystaspis smote the rebels hard. On the twenty-second day of the month Viyakhna the battle was fought. Then I sent a Persian army to Hystaspis from Raga. When this army came to Hystaspis, he drew out with this army and fought a battle with the rebels at a city of Parthia called Patigrabana. Auramazda helped. Through his grace, Hystaspis smote the rebel host. On the first day of the month Garmapada, the battle was fought; whereupon the province became mine. This is what I did in Parthia.

It is obvious that a man who must have been at least about 80 years of age, if his son were 62 and more, could not have carried on in person such an arduous campaign.

Finally, it is scarcely within the range of probability that Darius Hystaspis himself could have conducted so many expeditions as both his own inscriptions and the records of the classical writers impute to him, if he had been 62 years old at the time of the death of Belshazzar in 538 B.C. or at that of his succession to the throne of Cyrus in 521 B.C. If he had been 62 years old in 538 B.C., he would have been 114 at the time of his death in 486 B.C.; if he were 62 at the death of Smerdis in 521 B.C., he must have been 97 at the time of his death. It is not probable, that the Greek historians would not have noted this extreme old age in one so well known as he, and especially in one so active as he was even up to the time of his decease. So that we think that we are justified in concluding that whatever may have been

the source or the object or the date of the writer of Daniel, he could not have meant to reflect to his Darius the age of Darius Hystaspis at the time of his accession.

Thirdly, the same may be said as to the *manner* in which the two Dariuses are said to have become king.[1] Herodotus, who shortly after the death of Darius Hystaspis was born at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, a city subject at that time to the Persians, and who had traveled extensively in the Persian empire and studied the stories of its origin, has given us the longest, most thorough, and probably the most reliable account of the life of Darius Hystaspis. In his relation of the accession of Darius to the throne of Persia, he is explicit in stating how he succeeded the false Smerdis, the Magian; and by what a marvelous series of events, he and his fellow conspirators among the nobility of Persia, whose names also he gives, succeeded in wresting the domination of Western Asia from the usurping power of the Medes and the Magi.[2]

Not one word is said about Belshazzar, or about any other Babylonian or Chaldean king in all of this long account. Moreover, the Darius of Herodotus was the Persian leader of the Persians against the Magian leader of the Medes, and not a Median ruler succeeding to a Chaldean king.

These statements of Herodotus are confirmed as to these points by the inscriptions of Darius. The Behistun Inscription tells at length how the false Smerdis, having rebelled against Cambyses, assumed and maintained the kingship. On Col. i, lines 38–72, he says:

When Cambyses had gone to Egypt, the army became hostile and lying increased in the country, both in Persia

[1] See p. 223.

[2] See his *History*, Book III, 61–88.

and Media and the other countries. Then a man, a Magian, of Paishiyauvada called Gaumata rebelled at a fortress called Arakadrish. In the month Viyakhna, on the 14th day of the month, he rebelled. He lied to the people and said: "I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus and brother of Cambyses." Therefore, the whole kingdom broke into rebellion, going over to him from Cambyses, both Persia and Media as well as the other lands. He seized the government. On the 9th day of the month Garmapada he seized the government. Then Cambyses died by suicide. This government which Gaumata seized,—this government has been from of old in our family. Then Gaumata the Magian took from Cambyses both Persia and Media and the other countries. He acted as he pleased. He was king. No one, neither Persian nor Mede, nor any one of our family would have snatched the kingdom from Gaumata the Magian. The people feared him on account of his cruelty. He would have killed many people who had known Bardiya; he would have killed them, "so that no one should know, that I am not Bardiya the son of Cyrus." No one dared to speak about Gaumata the Magian, until I came. Then I cried to Auramazda for help. Auramazda granted me aid. In the month Bagayadish, in the tenth day, I and a few men killed that Gaumata the Magian and those who were his noblest adherents. At a fortress called Sikayauvatish in the district of Media called Nisaya; there I killed him and took the kingdom away from him. Through the grace of Auramazda, I became king. Auramazda gave over to me the kingdom. The government which had been wrested from our family, I reëstablished as it had been before. The places of prayer which Gaumata the Magian had destroyed I preserved to the people. The pastures, the hearths, the dwellings of the clans which Gaumata the Magian had taken away, I restored. I restored all things as they had been before. Through the grace of Auramazda, have I done this. I have worked until I have placed our clan again in its place, as it was before. I have worked through the

grace of Auramazda, so that it was as it was before Gaumata the Magian had robbed our clan. This is what I did when I became king.

Another point at which Herodotus' account of the conspiracy against the false Smerdis is confirmed by the inscriptions is in the list of the names of the conspirators. According to Herodotus III, 70, there were six of these, to wit: Otanes, Aspathines, Gobryas, Intaphernes, Megabysus, and Hydarnes. The names of five of these are given by Darius on Col. iv, 80–86,[1] of the Behistun Inscription, where we read:

Thus saith Darius the king: These are the men who were present when I slew Gaumata the Magian, who called himself Bardiya. At that time these men helped me as my adherents: Vindafrana, the son of Vayaspara, a Persian; Utana, the son of Thukhra, a Persian; Gaubaruva, the son of Marduniya, a Persian; Vidarna, the son of Bagabigna, a Persian; Bagabukhsha, the son of Daduhya, a Persian; Ardumanish, the son of Vahauka, a Persian.

It will be seen that all but the second of the names as given by Herodotus are easily recognizable in the list given in the inscription, and that there is but a slight difference in the order of the names; and the spelling in one case is Greek and in the other Persian. As to Aspathines, however, we find his name given by Darius on the *Naksh-i-Rustam* inscription as that of one of the companions of the king; so that it is possible, that he had two names, Aspathines and Ardumanish (Artabanus).

From the explicitness, then, of the accounts of the manner of the accession of Darius Hystaspis to the throne of Persia, it is impossible to suppose that a late

[1] Weissbach, *Die Achämeniden Inschriften*, §68.

writer who wished to reflect backwards the history of his succession to the kingdom could have said in the language of the book of Daniel: "That same night was Belshazzar the Chaldean slain; and Darius the Median received (or took) the kingdom" (v. 30, 31), or, as it is said in ix, 1, "Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes which had been made king over the realm of the Chaldeans."

Fourthly, the author of Daniel does not reflect backward the *name of the kingdom* over which Darius Hystaspis had been made king.[1] In his own inscriptions, Darius Hystaspis calls himself "king of Persia";[2] "king of lands";[3] "king of the lands of many tongues";[4] "king of the lands of all tongues";[5] "king of the great wide earth";[6] and "king of numerous countries."[7] On the Babylonian tablets, he is uniformly called "king of lands," "king of Babylon," or "king of Babylon and of the lands."[8] So, likewise, Herodotus and the classical writers uniformly call him king of Persia.[9] Never once anywhere is he called "king of the Medes," "king of Babylon," or "king of the Chaldeans." In glaring contrast with this, the Darius of Daniel is called a Mede,[10] which may possibly mean that he was a Median by race, or a king of the Medes, or at least of a part of the Medes; also, "king over the realm of the Chaldeans";[11] and by implication, at least, king of

[1] See p. 223. [2] *Behistun* i, 2, A 2.
[3] *Id.* 1, 2, A 3; Persepolis inscr. i, 3. [4] Elwend, 14-16; Suez, b, 5.
[5] NR, a 10. [6] NR, a 11-12. [7] Persepolis, i, 3-4.
[8] So on all those published by Strassmaier and in all in the "Cuneiform Texts" and in the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*.
[9] See the author's articles on the Titles of the Kings in the *Princeton Theological Review* for 1904-5, and his article on the Titles of the Kings of Persia in the *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, 1915.
[10] Dan. v, 31. [11] Dan. ix, 1.

Babylon, since he received apparently the kingdom of Belshazzar,[1] and Belshazzar is called "king of Babylon."[2] When we remember, that the author of Daniel is careful to distinguish Nebuchadnezzar as "king of Babylon";[3] Cyrus, as "the Persian,"[4] or as "king of Persia";[5] and Belshazzar as "the Chaldean,"[6] or as the "king of Babylon";[7] the fact, that Darius is called "the Mede,"[8] or king "over the realm of the Chaldeans,"[9] is especially worthy of notice. Particularly, is this careful discrimination of titles to be noted in view of the fact that a "Darius king of Persia" is mentioned by Ezra[10] and a "Darius the Persian" in Nehemiah xii, 22; one of which is most probably Darius Hystaspis. Accordingly, the author of Daniel cannot have gotten his knowledge of a Darius the Mede from the Scriptures. That is, since the Scriptures outside of Daniel speak only of a Darius the Persian, or a Darius, king of Persia, the author of Daniel did not reflect him back into his Darius the Mede, whom he never calls a Persian nor a king of Persia. So that here again we find that there is no evidence either on the monuments, or in the classical writers, or in the Scriptures, that Darius the Mede was a reflection of Darius Hystaspis.

Fifthly, nor does the Darius of Daniel reflect the *relations* of Darius Hystaspis *to other kings.*[11]

According to the Behistun inscription, Darius Hystaspis conquered two men who had rebelled against him and usurped the throne of Babylon. Each of these

[1] Dan. v, 31, vi, 1.
[2] Dan. vii, 1, where Theodotion, however, reads "king of the Chaldeans." [3] See i, 1. [4] VI, 29. [5] X, 1. [6] V, 30.
[7] vii, 1, where, as we have before mentioned, Theodotion reads "king of the Chaldeans." [8] VI, 1. [9] IX, 1.
[10] IV, 5, 24, vi, 14 (?). [11] See p. 223.

called himself Nebuchadnezzar and claimed to be a son of Nabunaid. The first of these is called by Darius "Nadintu-Bel the son of Aniri,"[1] and the second "Arakha, the son of Haldita an Armenian."[2] To show that the author of Daniel in his account of the overthrow of Belshazzar the Chaldean cannot have reflected backward the conquest of either of these rebel kings by Darius Hystaspis, I shall insert here at length the accounts of the rebellions of these men, as they appear in the Persian recension of the Behistun Inscription in the words of Darius Hystaspis himself.

After the death of Gaumata the Magian, Susiana revolted and a man named Atrina, the son of Upadarma, set himself up as king. At the same time, a Babylonian called Naditabaira[3] the son of Aniri, rebelled in Babylon and deceived the people, saying: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabunita." The whole Babylonian people went over to this Naditabaira. Babylon was rebellious and he seized the government in Babylon. Darius, therefore, sent an army against Susiana while he himself advanced against Naditabaira whose army held the (fords of the) Tigris, there awaiting his attack on ships. Through the grace of Auramazda, Darius passed the Tigris and defeated the army of Naditabaira on the 27th of the month Atriyadiya. Then he advanced to Babylon, fighting on the way a battle at Zazana on the Euphrates, driving a portion of the Babylonian army into the river which carried it away. This battle was on the 2nd day of the month Anamaka. Naditabaira escaped with a few horsemen to Babylon, whither Darius followed him, seized Babylon; and captured and killed Naditabaira in Babylon.

Sometime after, while Darius was in Persia and Media,[4] "the Babylonians rebelled a second time

[1] *Beh. Insc.* § 16. [2] *Id.*, § 49. [3] *i. e.*, Nadintu-Bel.
[4] *Beh. Insc.* § 49.

under the leadership of Arakha an Armenian, son of Haldita, whose headquarters were in the district of Dubala." He deceived the people, saying:

"I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabunita." The Babylonian army (or people) rebelled and went over to him and he took, and became king in, Babylon. Therefore, Darius sent an army against Babylon, under the command of Vindaparna, a Mede, his servant whom he had made general. Through the grace of Auramazda, he captured Babylon on the 2nd day of the month Markazana. "This" says Darius, "is what I did in Babylon."

Herodotus, also, describes at length[1] a capture of Babylon by Darius in addition to the first which had been made by Cyrus.[2] It is most probable that the first revolt under Nadintu-Bel is the one meant by Herodotus inasmuch as he makes Darius to have commanded in person; and according to the Behistun Inscription, this was done only in the first revolt; but he seems to have confused in a measure the two revolts, since he says, that Darius started on his expedition against the Scythians "after the capture of Babylon,"[3] and the inscription would indicate that this Scythian expedition did not take place till after the second revolt. Herodotus does not mention any name for the leader of the rebellious Babylonians. He does state, however, that the city was captured through the ingenuity of Zopyrus, a son of Megabysus, one of the seven noble Persians who had conspired against the Magian; and that as a reward Darius gave Zopyrus the government of Babylon "free from taxes during his life," and that he "every year presented him with those gifts which are

[1] Book III, 150–159.
[2] *Id.*, Book I, 188–192.
[3] *Id.*, Book IV, 1.

most prized by the Persians," "and many other things in addition."

In the Old Testament outside of Daniel, the only mention of a Darius along with and in relation to any other king is in Ezra vi, 14, where it is said that the temple was built at the command of the God of Israel and at the command of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia.

In the book of Daniel, however, Darius the Mede is said to have succeeded Belshazzar as king of Babylon and as king over the realm of the Chaldeans;[1] and to have reigned before, or contemporaneously with, Cyrus king of Persia.[2] So that we can safely affirm with assurance that, as to his relations to other kings, the Darius of Daniel was not a reflection of Darius Hystaspis.

Sixthly, the same is true, also, with reference to their methods of government.[3] As we have shown above, the satrapial system had been in use as early as the time of Sargon, and it was employed by every king between Sargon and Darius Hystaspis, and by every king of Persia after Darius Hystaspis. Nor was it substantially modified, so far as we know, by Alexander or by the Greek Seleucid rulers; and in fact, it has continued in use in that part of the world through all changes of government, Persian, Seleucid, Parthian, Sassanid, Arab, and Turk, down to the present time. It is the method of absolute, autocratic monarchies, and always has been, and always will be. There may be differences of names and modifications in minor particulars of administration; but the system itself from its very nature will always remain unchanged in its essential features. As to the number, character, and

[1] V, 30, 31, ix, 1. [2] VI, 29. [3] See p. 223.

authority of the satraps said to have been appointed by Darius the Mede, there is, however, no evidence of a reflection from Darius Hystaspis. Nor is it otherwise with regard to the three presidents appointed by the Darius of Daniel and as to the governors and deputies and other officials, who are said to have taken part in the administration of his kingdom. The inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis, as we have seen above, mention satraps and generals alone; and Herodotus speaks of archons, hyparchons, monarchs, and epitropoi, beside generals and admirals with their subordinates. From any source of information that we possess with regard to the administration and names of officials of Darius Hystaspis, it is utterly impossible for anyone to construct the system of government or the names of officials, recorded in the sixth chapter of Daniel. The system of government of Darius the Mede, and the names of the officials, half Persian, half Babylonian, accord excellently with a period of transition from Babylonian to Persian rule. But in the points wherein the government of Darius the Mede corresponds with that of Darius Hystaspis, it corresponds, also, with any other satrapial system; and in the points where it disagrees, it cannot be a reflection of the latter. And if anyone should say, that these disagreements exist merely because of our lack of complete information as to the particulars of the system introduced, or organized, by Darius Hystaspis, we answer: When the evidence is forthcoming, we shall yield the point. But until evidence be produced, let it be observed, that here also there is no reflection of Darius Hystaspis to be found in the Darius of Daniel.

Nor is it different with regard to the laws and the decrees of the Darius of Daniel. To be sure, Darius

Hystaspis says in the Behistun Inscription, iv, 64, that he ruled according to the law, and Darius the Mede is apparently bound by the law of the Medés and Persians which changeth not. But Herodotus says that Cambyses, likewise, was bound by the law in the same way (Book III, 31). And, in fact, it is not for one moment to be supposed, that there ever was a king that did not rule his kingdom in accordance with some system of laws and customs which he could not transgress if he would, except in peril of losing his throne. The Babylonian kings from Hammurabi to Nabunaid boast of their observance of the laws of the lands which they ruled; and the cause of the overthrow of the latter is said in the Cyrus Cylinder to have been that he had not observed the laws. What it is necessary to show, however, in this connection is, not that Darius Hystaspis and the Darius of Daniel both observed laws; nor that they were both bound by laws beyond their control; but that Darius Hystaspis issued some particular edict, or broke some particular law, which the author of Daniel asserts to have been done by Darius the Mede. So, also, with regard to the edicts of the Darius of Daniel, it will not suffice to prove that he is a reflection of Daniel Hystaspis to show that both issued edicts; but, it must be shown at least that they issued the same, or similar, edicts with reference to the same or similar subjects in the same or similar circumstances, and with the same or similar enacting clauses. Now, it is absolutely certain that this cannot be shown; and until it be shown, we can confidently believe, that Darius the Mede is in this respect, also, no reflection of Darius Hystaspis. For example, it would not be enough to show that Darius Hystaspis had a den of lions, and that he punished offenders by throwing them

to these lions, to render it certain that the den of lions of the book of Daniel was a reflection of that of Darius Hystaspis. It would need to be proven that other kings before and after Darius Hystaspis did not possess such a den. The probability is that if one king had a den of lions, another, also, would have one, and not the reverse. And, if a king had a den of lions, they must be fed; and so it is not far to the cry: "The Christians to the lions." It would be an exemplary, condign, and effective, punishment. It would save the double expense of the executing of the criminal and of the food for the lions!

But since the author of Daniel represents his Darius as casting a man into a den of lions a similar case with the same name and offense and punishment found recorded as having occurred in the reign of Darius Hystaspis would afford a strong presumption that one had been copied, or was a reflection of the other; but it would still have to be proven (even if it were admitted, that the two accounts referred to the same event) which of the authors it was who copied from the other. If, for example, Herodotus had said that Darius Hystaspis had cast a man called Daniel into a den of lions, it would be possible, that Herodotus had made a mistake as to his Darius. It would not prove, that the author of Daniel had made a mistake in saying that another Darius did so. Much less would it prove, that a late author had simply reflected back this story from the later to a supposed earlier Darius. Besides, each king may have cast a man, or many men for that matter, into a den of lions; and there may have been a mistake in names merely. Take, for illustration, the cases of the Decii and of the two Henrys mentioned by Prof. Edward A.

Freeman in his *Methods of Historical Study.*[1] He says:

The practice of rejecting a story merely because some thing very like it happened once before is one that must be used with great caution. As a matter of fact, events often do repeat one another; it is likely that they should repeat one another; not only are like causes likely to produce like results, but in events that depend on the human will it is often likely that one man will act in a certain way simply because another man acts in the same way before him. I have often thought how easily two important reigns in our own history might be dealt with in the way that I have spoken of, how easily the later reign might be judged to be a mere repetition of the former, if we knew no more of them than we know of some other parts of history. Let us suppose that the reigns of Henry the First and Henry the Second were known to us only in the same meager way that we know the reigns of some of the ancient potentates of the East. In short and dry annals they might easily be told so as to look like the same story. Each king bears the same name; each reigns the same number of years; each comes to the crown in a way other than succession from father to son; each restores order after a time of confusion; each improves his political position by his marriage; each is hailed as a restorer of the old native kingship; each loses his eldest son; each gives his daughter Matilda to a Henry in Germany; each has a controversy with his archbishop; each wages war with France; each dies in his continental dominions; each, if our supposed meager annals can be supposed to tell us of such points, shows himself a great lawgiver and administrator and each, to some extent, displays the same personal qualities, good and bad. Now when we come really to study the reigns, we see that the details of all these supposed points of likeness are utterly

[1] Pp. 138, 139.

different; but I am supposing very meager annals, such as are very often all that we can get, and in such annals, the two tales would very likely be so told that a master of the higher criticism might cast aside Henry the Second and his acts as a mere double of his grandfather and his acts. We know how very far wrong such a judgment would be; and this should make us cautious in applying a rule which, though often very useful, is always dangerous in cases where we may get utterly wrong without knowing it.

Again, he says, on page 135 of the same work: There is

in some quarters a tendency to take for granted that any story which seems to repeat another must necessarily be a repetition of it, a repetition of it in the sense which implies that the second story never happened. I have read a German writer who holds that the devotion of the second Publius Decius at Sentinum is simply the devotion of the first Publius Decius by Vesuvius over again. Now, setting aside whatever amount of evidence we may think that we have for the second story, if we bring it to a question of likelihood, there is certainly the likelihood that the exploit of the father should be told again as an exploit of the son; but there is also the likelihood that the son, finding himself in the like case with his father, should be stirred up to follow the example of his father. Most people, I fancy, accept the story of the second Decius.

While the Decii and the first two Henrys of England may thus be taken as examples of the fact that men of the same name may perform different deeds in a like way, we may take the various recorded captures of Babylon as illustrating how like events may be performed by different persons and in widely different times. Passing by the successive seizures of the city of Babylon by Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esar-

haddon, and Ashurbanipal—all of which had points of similarity,—attention may be specially called to the different captures by the Persian kings, Cyrus, Darius (at two different times), and Xerxes. From the scanty information in our possession; it is utterly impossible for us to distinguish many of the features of these numerous seizures and capitulations, although we are certain as to the fact of their occurrence. To be noted is the fact, that the position of Babylon and its power rendered it the head center of rebellious forces and the objective of the attack of the contending powers.

So, then, even if it could be shown that it was recorded of Darius the Mede, and likewise of Darius Hystaspis, that each of them had cast a man into a den of lions, this would not prove that one of these accounts was copied from the other, or that one of them had not cast a man to the lions. It would rather raise a presumption that the kings of those times were in the habit of casting men to the lions. Fortunately for our present argument, there is no record of the casting of men to the lions on the part of Darius Hystaspis, nor in fact by any other Persian king; and hence the account in Daniel cannot, so far as we know, be a reflection, a casting back upon the canvas depicting the deeds of Darius the Mede, of an event which really transpired under another's reign. Nothing reflects nothing, whether in the realm of matter, or in that of history, or in that of fiction.

Seventhly, is it possible that a man like Daniel may have stood in such a *relation to Darius* the Mede as the book of Daniel represents?[1] Or, putting it in other words, if it be impossible that a man like Daniel could have occupied such a relation, wherein consists the

[1] See p. 223

impossibility? Is it because no man could have occupied such a relation to him? Or, because Darius the Mede was such a king that no man could have stood in such a relation to him? Or, is it because Daniel was such a man that he could not have stood in such a relation to a king? Let us answer the above questions in their order.

(1) It is not impossible that a man should stand in such a relation to a king as Daniel is said to have occupied to Darius the Mede. The very fact that the writer of Daniel says that he occupied this relation argues for its possibility. For, whatever and whoever the writer of Daniel was, he was certainly anything but a fool. Whether he has written history or fiction, he must have thought this relation possible.

Besides, the critics who deny the historicity of Daniel claim that he wrote to comfort the Jews of Maccabean times with a fictitious narrative bearing the similitude of truth. To those Jews for whom Daniel wrote the account, such a relation must, therefore, have seemed to be possible. Otherwise, the whole story of the book would have been absurd, and the purpose for which it was written would have been made of no effect. But no one has claimed that it was of no effect. On the contrary, all admit that few books have exerted a greater influence upon after times than has this book of Daniel. It has remained for the modern critic to discover that one of the main features of the story—Daniel's relation to Darius the Mede—was impossible. Apparently, this view of the case never struck the people who lived in the times when there were kings of Persia, and others of like character. To them it seemed to be in harmony with what they knew of kings, that they should have men like Daniel occupying such relations to them.

But to specify and illustrate. If it were impossible

for Daniel to have stood in such a relation to Darius, how was it possible for Joseph to have been in such relations with the king of Egypt as Genesis represents him to have been? If this last relationship, also, is said to have been impossible, for what purpose, then, did the author say that it actually existed? He, at least, must have thought that it was possible.

Again, if this story of Daniel in relation to Darius is impossible, how about Achikar, the sage of Nineveh, in his relation to Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, kings of Assyria? The author of this story certainly thought that it was possible for a man like Daniel to have occupied such a relation to a king. Again, the Arabian Nights, that best of all illustrators of Eastern manners and customs, gives us numerous examples of just such men as Daniel occupying the same relations to the king they served. Such men are the sage Douban in his relation to the Grecian king, and the vizier Giafar in his relation to the caliph Haroun al Rashid.[1]

What we know of the kings of Persia, also, shows us that they did have such counsellors. It is necessary only to mention Democedes under Darius Hystaspis, Demaratus under Xerxes, and Ctesias under Artaxerxes.

(2) Secondly, is the character of Darius the Mede such as would justify us in supposing that Daniel could not have stood in the relation to him that the sixth chapter of Daniel describes?

The answer to this question must be derived from the account of Darius given in the sixth chapter of Daniel; and, if we identify Darius with Gobryas, from the records of the Cyrus Cylinder also. From these sources we learn that he had the following characteristics:

[1] See Lane, vol. i, 37, 61.

First, he was a good and successful general.

Secondly, he was deemed worthy to receive from Cyrus the realm of Belshazzar the Chaldean.

Thirdly, he showed great ability as an organizer.

Fourthly, he listened to and followed the advice of his counsellors.

Fifthly, he showed wisdom in the choice of a prime minister; for he preferred Daniel, because an excellent spirit was in him.

Sixthly, he was faithful to his friends, as is shown by the way he sought to release Daniel.

Seventhly, sometimes, at least, he was weak and easily deceived, as is shown by the way he allowed himself to be imposed upon by the enemies of Daniel.

Eighthly, he was pious; for he believed that the God of Daniel was able to deliver him out of the mouth of the lions.

Ninthly, he was vain and filled with a heathenish sense of the divinity of kings; else, he would never have allowed a decree to have been made that no one should ask a petition of anyone for forty days, save of him.

Tenthly, and yet he was just. When things went wrong, he was sore displeased with himself. He obeyed the law, even when it was against his will and judgment. In accordance with the *lex talionis*, he punished those who had sought to encompass the death of Daniel with the same death that they had attempted to inflict on him; and he apparently restored Daniel to the position from which he had been unjustly deposed.

Eleventhly, he was sorry when he had done wrong. He was sore displeased with himself, and fasted and lay awake all night; and was exceedingly glad when Daniel was saved.

Twelfthly, he was laborious. He organized the kingdom, receiving reports from his counsellors, labored all day to deliver Daniel, rose early in the morning to hasten to the den of lions, and himself wrote a decree to honor the God of Daniel.

In short, Darius the Mede was no fickle, vengeful, lustful, oriental tyrant; but a wide-awake, beneficent, and very human ruler. Why should it be thought an impossible thing that such a king should have selected for his chief adviser and administrator such a man as Daniel?

(3) Thirdly and lastly, the alleged impossibility of Daniel's having stood in the relation to Darius in which the book of Daniel represents him to have been, cannot be shown from what is said of Daniel himself. For, first, it could not have arisen from the fact that he was a Jew. If it did, we would have to reject the stories of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Mordecai, as well as that of Daniel; for these all were Jews who are said to have occupied high official positions at the Persian court. Furthermore, the story of Joseph, also, implies the possibility of an Israelite's rise to the highest position at a heathen court. The stories of Tobit and Achikar and Aristeas, also, show that the Jews thought at least, that Israelites could be promoted to the first places in the gift of the kings of Egypt and Assyria. Finally, the Jewish writers would scarcely have introduced Jews as playing such rôles in their works, even if these works were purely fictitious, unless they knew that such positions were open to Jews.

Nor, secondly, would such a position be impossible to Daniel because he was a slave; for from time immemorial all the officers of an oriental king had been looked upon as his slaves. Thus, in the Tel-el-Amarna letters, all of the officers and sub-kings of the king of Egypt are called

his slaves. Cyrus even is called by Nabunaid the little slave of Astyages.[1] Darius Hystaspis, also, speaks of Wohumis, one of the greatest of his generals whom he had selected to put down the rebellion of the Armenians, as his slave.[2]

Further, we may cite the instances of Tobit and Achikar, who are said to have been captives and slaves, and notwithstanding this to have been elevated to the highest positions at the Assyrian court, the former as purveyor, the latter as counsellor or vizier. The Arabian Nights contain not infrequent examples of such promotions of slaves; and the history of India gives numerous instances of it. Unfortunately, the Babylonian and Persian records contain so little information about the officers of the kings that it is impossible to find out much about their origin, race, social position, or even their names.

Nor, thirdly, can it have been because Daniel was not capable of performing the duties that he is represented as performing. According to the only account of his education, that we possess, he had been specially prepared to stand before the king, and God had given him the knowledge and wisdom necessary for the work in life to which he was afterwards called. Furthermore, according to this same account, he discharged his functions so well under Nebuchadnezzar, that he was continued in high service until the reign of Cyrus. Lastly, Ezekiel, the only other biblical record that mentions him, puts him on a par with Noah and Job as one of the three well known wise men to whom the prophet could refer his hearers.[3]

[1] KB. ii, iii, ii, 98.
[2] Bab., *gallu;* Aram., *'elam.* See *Behistun Insc.*, xxv.
[3] Ezek. xiv, 14, 20; xxviii, 3.

For all these reasons one may justly conclude, that it is entirely possible that a man like Daniel may have stood in such a relation to Darius the Median king as that in which the book of Daniel represents him to have stood.

Eighthly, nor is there any evidence of a reflection when we come to consider the *character of the two Dariuses.*[1] The principal trait in common is, that they were both organizers. But this common feature was rendered necessary by the fact that a common situation confronted them. They were both kings of a newly conquered kingdom, whose government had to be reduced to order. If the Ugbaru (*i. e.*, Gubaru, Gobryas) of the monuments be Darius the Mede, we have the evidence that he did organize the country of Babylon by appointing governors under himself, he himself being under Cyrus. So Darius Hystaspis organized his greater kingdom. There is no inconsistency in the statement that they each organized their respective governments; neither does it follow that the author who says that either of them did thus organize his kingdom was reflecting merely the organization made by the other. There must have been an organized government during the reign of Cyrus and Cambyses and their subordinates; there must have been a reorganization by Darius Hystaspis after he had reconquered the empire which had gone to pieces on the death of the Magus. Each organization was absolutely necessary and neither is a reflection of the other.

Nor, can it be said that the friendship and loyalty which the Darius of Daniel showed to Daniel was a reflection of the character of Darius Hystaspis. True, Darius Hystaspis was, in this respect, and in every

[1] See p. 223.

respect, one of the noblest and best of the rulers of all time. He justified his boast: "the man who was my friend, him have I well protected."[1] His treatment of Sylosen, whom he made tyrant of Samos because he had given him a cloak in Egypt before he became king;[2] his generosity to the Greek Physician Democedes who had healed him and his queen Atossa of their complaints;[3] his faithfulness to Histiæus the Milesian during all of his tergiversations;[4] his treatment of Zopyrus and Megabysus,[5] and of his fellow conspirators[6] all attest this characteristic and approve his claim. But he was not the only monarch who was friendly to his friends. Cyrus, also, was thus faithful and kindly. According to Xenophon in his *Cyropædia*, he was a model in his respect. Herodotus tells of the position of honor he gave to Harpagus, who aided him in the overthrow of Astyages; and of his kind treatment of Astyages and Crœsus. He himself speaks in his *Cylinder Inscription* of his kindness to Nabunaid and of his faithful conduct to Ugbaru. Besides, the other kings of Persia such as Artaxerxes I and II and Darius Nothus have left many examples of their generosity and faithfulness. These are not such uncommon traits in kings, that the fact that two kings are said to have had them is evidence that someone has reflected to his hero the lineaments of the other.

The same may be said of the piety, belief in God or the gods, manifested in the Darius of the sixth chapter of Daniel. "Thy God," says Darius to Daniel, "whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee." This

[1] *Behistun Inscr.*, i, 21.
[2] Herodotus, Bk. III, 139–149.
[3] *Id.*, Bk. iii, 129–138.
[4] *Id.*, Bk. IV, 137–141, V, 11, 23, 24, 30, 38, 105, 107, VI, 1–5, 26–30.
[5] *Id.*, Bk. III, 160; iv, 143.
[6] *Behistun, Ins.* iv, 80–86.

sentiment cannot be paralleled in the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis. It is true that he has what might be called a *general* piety, a trust in the favor which Auramazda, his god, had for him, expressed in such phrases as: "Through the grace of Auramazda I am king"; "Auramazda gave me the kingdom";[1] "Then cried I to Auramazda for help. Auramazda assisted me";[2] "Through the grace of Auramazda, I did it, I have wrought, until I have placed again this our family in its place, as it was before; so have I done through the grace of Auramazda"; and others of a like nature. Or, as it is expressed in the inscription of Elwend: "A great god is Auramazda, who creates this world, who creates yon heaven, who creates mankind, who creates pleasure for men, who made Darius king, the only king among men, the only lord of many,"[3] But, Xerxes and Darius Ochus and Artaxerxes I and II have similar phrases in their inscriptions, and have left us many proofs of a similar piety and trust in their god or gods. Cyrus says that Marduk called him to the kingdom of the totality of all (the world) (*Cylinder* 10–12); that he looked upon his (Cyrus') deeds and subdued under him the host of Manda and all men (13–14); that he commanded him to go to Babylon and like a friend and helper went along at his side(15); that he who makes the dead alive approached him graciously (19); that Merodach, his lord whom he worshiped, had drawn nigh to him graciously (27–35). The inscription of Antiochus Soter, who reigned from 280 to 260 B. C., is full, also, of similar pious expressions.[4] So that it is obvious, that a general piety which all kings of the

[1] *Behistun*, i, 11, 12; 59, 60. [2] *Id.*, i, 54, 55.
[3] So also in the similar inscription of Persepolis and *Naksh-i-Rustam.* [4] See Schrader, KB., iii–ii, 136–139.

Orient showed toward their gods, or god, cannot be produced when found in any particular one as an argument to show that his piety was reflected from theirs or theirs from his. They were all more or less pious, or, if you prefer, superstitious. Darius Hystaspis, being a Persian, and the Darius of Daniel, being a Mede, and thus of the same family of nations, and with, perhaps, the same religion, may well have worshiped the same god, or gods; but there is no evidence anywhere except perhaps in Ezra, that Darius Hystaspis ever honored the God of Daniel, the God of Israel, or declared his belief in that God's ability to save a man from anything and certainly not from a den of lions.

Again, there is a semblance of weakness, of dependence upon others, of susceptibility to flattery, about the Darius of Daniel, for which no parallel can be found in Darius Hystaspis. Neither his inscriptions, nor any of the other sources of information which we have concerning him, give us the slightest intimation, that he was anything other than a strong, independent, self-reliant, conquering hero, a man preëminently sane and free from that susceptibility to flattery which doth surround a throne. All the evidence goes to show that the vacillating, troubled, penitent, sleepless Darius of the realm of the Chaldeans, whatever else he may have been, cannot have been a reflection of the self-satisfied, dominant, and enterprising son of Hystaspis who founded and ruled triumphantly the greatest empire that the world till then had ever seen.

And lastly, we do not know anything in the history of Darius Hystaspis which would cause us to conclude that he ever had under him a ruler like Daniel from whom a late writer might have made a reflection backward to his supposititious Daniel. The monu-

ments of Darius fail utterly to reveal a man like Daniel of any race or position. In fact, the Persian kings were in general free from the influence of favorites of all kinds, Arses having been an exception in this regard. An autocracy which depends for its existence upon the skill and power of the monarch is not calculated to cultivate such men. So, we find, that in Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, weaklings soon ceased to reign. Some more aggressive, self-assertive, or intelligent brother, or rival, speedily made an end of them by assassination or rebellion. Witness Evil-Marduk, Labashi-Marduk, Xerxes II, and Sogdianus and Arses and even Astyages and Nabunaid. When an autocrat ceased to be a real autocrat, his doom was sealed. Richard II, Edward II, and Henry VI are more recent examples. But a Darius Hystaspis! A man, one of the most strenuous, self-dependent, active, intelligent, and successful of all the autocratic monarchs who ever lived! We would not expect to find, we do not find, in any records of Greek, or other, source, any intimation, that he ever submitted for a moment to give over the government of his kingdom into the hands of another, as Darius the Mede is said in Daniel to have done. In so far as Darius the Mede did this, he cannot have been a reflection of Darius Hystaspis.

CHAPTER XIII

OTHER ALLEGED CONFUSIONS OF KINGS

VII.[1] It is assumed that when the author of Daniel makes the fourth of the Persian kings mentioned in Chapter xi, 2, to "be exceedingly rich and to provoke a mighty war against Greece," it is clear that he has confused Xerxes and Darius Hystaspis by making them one and the same person.[2]

In support of this assumption, appeal is made to Dan. xi, 2, with which it is said, Dan. vii, 6, is confused. The latter verse reads in the Reviser's text: "After this I beheld, and, lo, another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given it."

The natural interpretation of this figure is that the wings denote velocity and the heads voracity. There is absolutely no proof that the wings denote swiftness and the heads four kings, as Von Lengerke and others assert. Besides, it is an assumption, which itself needs to be proven, that the leopard is meant to denote Persia, and not Alexander the Great. Since the Scriptures outside of Daniel, as well as the monuments and the classical authors, uniformly represent Cyrus as the one who overthrew the Babylonian empire, it is

[1] See p. 162.

[2] Cornill, Introduction, p. 385.

impossible for us to conjecture where the author of Daniel could have received the false information which would have led him to believe that a Median empire intervened between the Babylonian and the Persian. Even if he had been writing a fiction, as the writer on Daniel in a recent Bible Dictionary affirms that he did, he would scarcely have made so unnecessary a blunder and one so easy to be detected. We can only conclude, then, that he was an ignoramus, who knew nothing about the sources of information which were easily accessible to him; or an impostor, who presumed on a crass and impossible ignorance of their own, as well as of Persian history, on the part of the Jews of Maccabean times; whom, according to his modern critics, he was wishing to comfort and encourage by his "edifying religious narrations." But, how can a man who is supposed to have known that "the names of only four Persian kings are mentioned in the O. T." have been so ignorant of the contents of the Old Testament as not to know that they uniformly represent Cyrus as the conqueror of Babylon and the Persians as the immediate successors of the Babylonians? However late the second part of Isaiah may have been written, no one can doubt, that it was written long before the middle of the second century B.C., and that it represents Jehovah's servant Cyrus as fulfilling his will upon Babylon.[1] In Ezra and 2 Chronicles, also, Cyrus is the one uniformly designated as the conqueror of Babylon.[2] No mention is made anywhere in the Bible outside or inside of Daniel of the name of any king of Media, nor of any special conquest of Babylon by the Medes

[1] Isa. xliv, and xlv.

[2] Ezra i, 1, 2, 7, 8; iii, 7; iv, 3, 5; v, 13, 14, 17; vi, 3, 14; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 22, 23.

alone, nor of any ruling of Median kings over Babylon. Appeal is made to Isaiah xiii, 17, and xxi, 2, and to Jeremiah, li, 11, 28, to show that these were the sources of his information. Isaiah xiii, 17 reads: "Behold, I will stir up the Medes[1] against them [*i. e.*, the Babylonians.]" Isaiah xxi, 2, reads: "Go up, O; Elam besiege, O Media," and verse 9 shows that Babylon is the object of the attack. In Jeremiah li, 11, we read, "The Lord hath stirred up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, because his device is against Babylon to destroy it." In Jeremiah li, 27–29, we read:

> Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz: appoint a marshal[2] against her; cause the horses to come up as the rough canker-worm. Prepare against her the nations, the kings of the Medes, the governors[3] thereof, and all the deputies[4] thereof, and all the land of their dominion. And the land trembleth and is in pain; for the purposes of Jehovah against Babylon do stand, to make the land of Babylon a desolation, without inhabitant.

Further in 2 Kings xvii, 6, and xviii, 11, it is said that the king of Assyria, in the time of Hezekiah and Isaiah, settled the captive children of Israel in the cities of Media. From these passages it is evident that Media must have been well known in the time of Isaiah and we may well believe to every succeeding Jewish writer of any ordinary intelligence. The better one knows the history of the land of Media, the better also will he recognize the appropriateness with which Isaiah and Jeremiah

[1] Heb. *Maday*.
[2] Hebrew, *tifsar*.
[3] Hebrew, *pāhôth*.
[4] Hebrew, *sagan*.

use the designation. According to Winckler,[1] the conquering Aryans, who were conquerors of the Persians, assumed, or were given by their neighbors, the name of the country and people that they had subdued. During the time of the Assyrian dominations, it was, and remained unto classical times, the name of the northern part of the plateau of Iran; the latter being the new name afterward given to it from its Aryan conquerors. Elam, on the other hand, was the well known designation of the country between the Median or Iranian plateau and the Persian Gulf; and included not merely Susiana (the Uvaya of the Persian recension of the Behistun Inscription), but Anshan, the land which Cyrus and his ancestors ruled, and Persia proper, which Darius and his ancestors ruled for a century or two before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. The Behistun Inscription also puts Elam under the Persian dominion; though Herodotus calls it part of Susa and the rest of the country the land of the Cissians.[2] The other lands mentioned by Jeremiah—Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz—constituted what Winckler has identified as having been called Gutium by the Babylonians; though the name had probably been changed as to the extent of the country denoted by it at the time when Ugbaru was its satrap, or sub-king. It will be noted, also, that Jeremiah speaks of Media as having kings and not a king, when it is stirred up against Babylon. This harmonizes with our views as to the relation in which Ugbaru stood to Cyrus. He was one king of many who were under the king of kings. Another, according to the Behistun Inscription, must have been Hystaspis the father, or Arsames, the grandfather of Darius Hys-

[1] *Untersuchungen zur altorient. Geschichte*, p. 117.
[2] Bk. III, 91.

taspis; for Darius declares in both the great inscriptions at Behistun and the lesser one, called A, that eight of his ancestors had been king before him, and Herodotus states that Hystaspis was governor (*hyparch*) of Persia in the time of Smerdis the Magian.[1]

From the above discussion, it will appear, then, to be true, that while Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel all use the name Media correctly, and say only what is absolutely exact with regard to it; that it would have been impossible for anyone in later times to have constructed out of the meager details afforded by the first two, such an account as we find recorded in the book of Daniel. They are all three perfectly in harmony with what we have from other sources; but no one of them could have drawn his information from the others,—least of all Daniel. There being, then, no statement anywhere in the Scriptures to the effect that there ever was an independent Median kingdom, which included in it the land of Babylon; nor of any king of a Median empire, who ever conquered it, or ruled over it; it seems far-fetched to maintain, that the author of Daniel ever imagined that a Median kingdom came in between the Babylonian and the Persian. In Daniel i, 21, it is said that Daniel continued unto the first year of king Cyrus; in vi, 28, it is said that he prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian. Since Isaiah xliv and xlv had attributed the conquest of Babylon to Cyrus; Isaiah xiii, 17, to the Medes; Isaiah xxi, 2, to Elam[2]; and Jeremiah li to Medes and others[3]; it is easy to reconcile all the statements by supposing that all of these people together, under Cyrus as king, were engaged in the attack on Babylon. There is every

[1] Bk. III, 70.
[2] *I.e.*, Anshan where Cyrus ruled.
[3] *I.e.*, Gutium, of which Gobryas was governor under Cyrus.

reason, however, for believing that native kings, who submitted to Cyrus and the other Persian kings after him, were not disturbed in their sovereignty over their *subjugated* states. Witness the Syenneses, kings of Cilicia, one of whom was and remained king under Cyrus,[1] another under Darius,[2] and a third under Xerxes.[3] Witness Damasithymus, king of the Calyndians who served in the Persian fleet and was killed at Salamis.[4] Witness the kings of Cyprus,[5] Gorgus, king of the Salaminians;[6] Aristocyprus, son of Philocyprus, king of Soli.[7] Witness Thannyras, the son of Inarus, the Libyan, and Pausiris, the son of Amyrtæus, who received from the Persian king the governments which their fathers had; "although none ever did more injury to the Persians than Inarus and Amyrtæus"; for "the Persians are accustomed," says Herodotus, "to honor the sons of kings, and even if they have revolted from them, nevertheless bestow the government upon their children."[8] So, Cyrus says in his *Cylinder*-inscription, line 29–31, that the kings brought to him their rich tribute. The kings who were dethroned were not ordinarily killed, unless they aimed, not at independence, but at the supreme sovereignty. Thus Astyages, king of the Medes (or Mandeans); Crœsus, king of Lydia; and Nabunaid, king of Babylon, were all spared by Cyrus[9]; and according to Abydenus, the last of these was given the government of Carmania.

From the above, it will be clear to our readers, that Cyrus may have had a king of Media, or a Median

[1] Herodotus, I, 74. [2] *Id.*, V, 118. [3] *Id.*, VII, 98.
[4] *Id.*, VII, 98, VIII, 87. [5] *Id.*, XII, 100.
[6] *Id.*, V, 104. [7] *Id.*, V, 113. [8] *Id.*, III, 15.
[9] Herodotus, I, 130, 208; Abu Habba *Cylinder*, i, 32, 55; Nabunaid-Cyrus *Chronicle*, obverse Col. ii, 2, reverse Col. ii, 16.

king, ruling a part of his empire under him. But further, before leaving this subject, let it be remembered, that it is not fair to accuse the Scriptures of making statements about the Medes having conquered Babylon; whereas, as a matter of fact, the Persians did it. For, it is evident, that the subjects and neighbors of the Persian government both looked upon the Achæmenid kings as kings of the Medes, also, and addressed them as such. For example, Herodotus says that Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ, addressed Cyrus as "king of the Medes,"[1] and the two Spartans who went to Susa to make satisfaction for the death of the Persian heralds who had perished at Sparta, addressed the king as "King of the Medes."[2] Moreover, Xerxes, as we have shown above, is called "king of Persia and Media," "king of Medo-Persia,[3] etc., on a number of Babylonian contract tablets. Herodotus and Thucydides, also, represent the Greeks as using the names almost indiscriminately for the allied peoples and for their kings as well; and both the monuments of the Persian kings and the classical writers place the Medes in a position little inferior to the Persians but much superior to any other nation in the kingdom of the Achæmenids. Both by Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis, a large number of Medes as well as Persians were entrusted with the highest commands in the empire; while but a few exceptional cases can be cited where a man of any other nation received an appointment to a high command. So that the old designation of Medo-Persian may well be employed to designate the kingdom founded by Cyrus; though, perhaps, Perso-Median would be better still. If then, the Medo-Persian empire was *one*, and succeeded immediately to that of Babylon, the interpre-

[1] I., 205. [2] *Id.*, XII, 134–136. [3] *Shar Par-sa, Mada.*

tation of Daniel vii, 5, 6, which makes the bear to mean Media and the leopard Persia, falls to the ground; and so also does the interpretation which makes the four heads of the leopard refer to four kings of Persia. It follows that Daniel vii, 6, cannot be used to prove that in Daniel xi, 2, we find the author "attributing to the Persian empire only four kings," and that consequently he must have confused Darius Hystaspis and his son Xerxes when he makes the fourth king stir up all against the realm of Greece.

Dan. xi, 2, which is the only text except vii, 6, which is cited by Prof. Cornill to prove this confusion of the two kings reads as follows:

> And now, I will show thee the truth. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be much richer than they all; and when he is waxed strong through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece.

The first verse of this chapter says that this vision was in the first year of Darius the Mede. Since, as we have endeavored to show, Darius the Mede was never an independent king, but was merely a sub-king under Cyrus, it seems best to consider Cambyses, Smerdis the Magian, and Darius Hystaspis, to be the three kings meant by the author of this verse. The fourth would then be Xerxes; though it may possibly be Darius, if we count Cyrus as the first. The confusion, however, if there be any, is with us and not with the author. That is, we may not know which of the two he meant; but this does not prove that *he* did not know which of the two he meant. Remember, ***no names are given.*** The naming of the kings of the vision rests with the interpreters of it. It is not necessary to

maintain that the prophets were themselves able clearly to distinguish the persons of their visions. We are told by Peter,[1] that the prophets searched diligently to find out what the visions which they saw might mean. There would be no possible objection, therefore, to this verse, even if it were indefinite and somewhat confused, provided that we could only recognize that it was prediction; and not try to force it to be an account written in the second century B.C.

VIII. But eighthly, it is said, that not merely did the author confuse Xerxes and Darius Hystaspis, but that this confused fourth king of Persia was further confused with Darius Codomannus, the fourteenth and last king of Persia, who was overthrown by Alexander the Great.[2] This confusion is said to be shown by Daniel xi, 2, which reads: "And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion and do according to his will." Taken in connection with the verse preceding it, we admit and all admit, that this refers to Alexander of Macedon. But we fail to see the confusion. The prophecy might have been more explicit, but it is not confused. It does not say when this mighty king should arise. It does not say that he would have any direct or personal relation with the fourth king of Persia; though it may and, we think, does indicate and mean, that the great king would be instigated to his course of conduct by the activities of the fourth king against the dominion of Greece. As a matter of fact, Alexander the Great is said both by Arrian and Quintus Curtius to have declared that he undertook his expedition against Persia in order to avenge the earlier assaults on Greece and Macedon made by Darius Hystaspis and his son Xerxes. And who can or would do other-

[1] 1 Pet. i, 10, 11.

[2] See p. 162.

wise in thinking of the two great expeditions, than to put them in contrast and in a certain juxtaposition and relation of cause and effect with each other? Herodotus begins his great history by an attempt to show what was the original cause of the enmity between the Greeks and the Asiatics; and he says that the Persians ascribed to the capture of Troy, to the expedition of the Greeks into Asia about five hundred years before that of Darius Hystaspis against Greece, the commencement of their enmity to the Greeks.[1]

But even if there were a confusion of these kings of Persia in the statements of the book of Daniel, it must be evident to all, that, while this might be looked upon as a reason for distrusting these statements, it certainly cannot be used to prove that the author wrote after rather than before the history was enacted. We object, therefore, to the bringing forward of this claim of confusion as a proof of the late date of the book. And we object especially in this charge against the author of Daniel that he confused the composite Darius Hystaspis-Xerxes with Darius Codomannus, to laying stress upon an interval of time between the cause and the effect, between the attack on Greece and the counter attack on Persia; inasmuch as no one in his senses would think of charging Herodotus with confusion because he skips over the five hundred years between the attack on Priam's citadel and that on the Acropolis, or of charging Alexander the Great with confusion or ignorance, because he declares his attack on Darius Codomannus in 334 B. C., to have been an act of vengeance for the attacks of Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes upon Greece and Macedon in the wars which culminated at Marathon and Salamis.

[1] See Bk. I, 1–5.

IX.[1] Ninthly, and lastly, it is assumed, that the author states that the war of the fourth king of Persia against Greece ended "in a triumphant repulse of this attack by the Greek king Alexander the Great" and in the defeat and dethronement of the fourth king.[2]

It is a sufficient answer to this assumption to repeat the verse upon which it is founded: "A mighty king shall stand up and shall rule with great dominion and do according to his will."[3] Here, is no mention of the defeat and dethronement of any king, let alone the fourth king of Persia alluded to in the preceding verse. Here is no mention of the name of Alexander of Macedon, nor of his having repulsed any attack nor of his being a great king. The whole verse is absolutely within the sphere of ordinary predictive prophecy, and puts one in mind in its indefiniteness of the verse of Balaam: "There shall come forth a star out of Jacob"[4]; and of the verse in Jacob's blessing: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah," etc.[5]

Conclusion

In the discussions of the last five chapters, we have attempted to show that the author of Daniel does not attribute to the Persian empire a total of only four kings; that it is scarcely possible that the author of Daniel, if he wrote after the time of Alexander the Great, can have thought that this empire had only four kings; that it is not proven that only four kings of Persia are mentioned in the Old Testament outside of Daniel; that Darius the Mede cannot have been a reflection of Darius Hystaspis; that the author of Daniel has not

[1] See p. 162. [2] Cornill, p. 385. [3] Dan. xi, 3.
[4] Num. xxiv, 17. [5] Gen. xlix, 10.

confused Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes his son; that he does not mistake Darius Hystaspis for Darius Codomannus; and that he does not state that the war of the fourth king of Persia against Greece was repulsed by Alexander the Great. We leave the reader to judge whether we have succeeded in our attempt.

CHAPTER XIV

SUSA

When a man is charged with having with his own hand committed a murder, the most conclusive defense is to prove an *alibi*, that is, that the accused was not at the place at the time when the murder was committed. Similarly, when it comes to historical statements, if it can be shown that the man about whom the statement is made did not live at the time or that he could not have been in the place where the event is said to have transpired, it is sufficiently clear that the statement connecting him directly with the event is false. Again, if an event is said to have been enacted in a certain building in a certain city at a certain time by a certain person, the statement is proved false if it can be shown that the person, or the building, or the city, did not exist at that time; or that if it did exist, its condition and circumstances were different from those described in the record. Further, if a document purports to have been written at a certain time by a certain person in a certain language, it would be sufficient to disprove its genuineness, if it could be shown that the person did not exist at that time, or that the language is such as that the document could not have been written at that time. Of course, this last statement would be subject to the proviso that the document in hand was not a later revision, or a translation, of the original.

In this and the following chapter I am going to consider some of the attacks made upon the genuineness of the book of Daniel on the ground that it contains anachronisms, that is, that it contains statements which could not have been written in the time of Cyrus.

Objections Stated

"The author was guilty of an anachronism in making Shushan (Susa) subject to Babylon."[1]

Or, as Cornill says, "Of the fact of Susa also having been a seat of the Babylonian court there may be a reminiscence in viii, 2."[2]

Assumptions Involved

There are in these objections two assumptions: 1, that in the time of Daniel, Susa was not subject to Babylon; 2, that Daniel viii, 2, implies the anachronism that Susa was in Daniel's time a seat of the Babylonian court.

Answer to Assumptions

1. (a) As to the first assumption, discoveries made since Bertholdt's time would indicate that Susa was subject to Babylon in the time of Daniel. For as Winckler says of the division of the Assyrian empire between the Babylonians and the Medes: "All the country to the north of the river region from Elam to Asia Minor fell to the Medes." "Elam itself appears, as in the earliest times, to have fallen to Babylonia."[3]

[1] Bertholdt: *Daniel*, p. 34.

[2] *Introduction to the O. T.*, p. 185.

[3] Winckler's *History of Babylon and Assyria*, Craig's Translation, p. 384.

If we can accept the translation of Mr. Pinches, the Cyrus Cylinder supports this view of Dr. Winckler; for according to this translation, the city of Susa was one of those to which Cyrus returned its gods after he had captured Babylon and had received the homage of the nations, that had up to that time been subject to Babylon, in Shu-anna the citadel of the city of Babylon.[1] The province of Elam spoken of in viii, 2, of which Susa was the capital will thus appear to have been a part of Babylonia during the period of the Babylonian monarchy.

(b) But, even if Susa did not fall to Babylon in the division of the Assyrian empire, we must remember that it is possible (1) that Daniel was there in vision merely, or (2) that he may have gone thither on private or official business. In favor of (1) is the probable meaning of chapter viii, 2, which reads: "I saw in the vision; now it was so, that when I saw, I was in Shushan the palace, which is in the province of Elam." In favor of (2) is the fact that the cities of Babylon and Susa were separated by only a little over 200 miles and that for at least 1500 years the two cities had been bound together by the closest political and commercial relations. Susa lay on the direct land route from Babylon to India, and Babylon on the route from Susa to the Mediterranean. So that there may have been many reasons of a public or private nature why a man of Daniel's position may have visited Susa. In his official capacity also as ruler "over the whole province of Babylon,"[2] he may have been investigating the methods of government in the province of Elam. Or, if we take the reading of the Latin Vulgate, "province" or the LXX reading, "affairs"

[1] See Pinches: *The O. T. in the Light of the Hist. Records*, etc., p. 422, and KB. iii, ii, 126.

[2] Dan. ii, 48.

of Babylonia (a reading which depends merely upon a change in the pointing of the Hebrew original), Daniel may have had oversight at this time of the governors of all the provinces, or affairs, of the empire. Or, Daniel may have been transferred from the government of the province of Babylon to that of Elam. It is altogether probable, that as Nabunaid, the son of Nabunaid, had been made sub-king of Harran in the extreme north of the Babylonian empire,[1] so also, Belshazzar had been made king of Accad, Shumer, Chaldea, and Elam in the south. This would account for the *third* year of Belshazzar the king spoken of in Daniel viii, 1. It was the third year of Belshazzar as the king of the Chaldeans.

The presumptuousness of making hasty statements, unsupported by any proper evidence, with regard to the events which happened, and the state of affairs in that distant past in which Daniel lived, cannot be better illustrated than in the assertions which Bertholdt made in the introduction to his commentary on Daniel, which was published in 1806. We read:

The book of Daniel contains mistakes which it would have been impossible for Daniel to compose and which can be explained only on the supposition that the book was written long after the occurrence of the events described. In Chapter 8: 1, 2, Daniel says of himself: "In the third year of the reign of Belshazzar the king, I found myself in Shushan the palace, in the province of Elam." In the 27th verse he says that he had royal business to transact in that place. In these words lies an insoluble difficulty, if Daniel has written them. Elymais never belonged to the Chaldean court of Babylon. Later, under Cyrus, Daniel may indeed have come into this land; but how

[1] See Pognon: *Inscriptions Sémitiques*, Part 1.

could he already much earlier have had to transact there the business of king Nabonned? One might perhaps say that he went thither as an ambassador to the Persian court. But only if it were not certain that the kings first after Cyrus made it their winter residence—that Darius Hystaspis first caused the buildings requisite for this to be erected, that thus in Nabonned's time there did not exist a court or a royal palace (*Burg*) in the chief city of Elymais! Clearly a later composer betrays himself here who has confused either the later Persian residence city Susa with Babylon, the capital of the Chaldean kings, or indeed Nabonned with a ruler of the Persian dynasty, or a later event from the life of Daniel with an earlier.[1]

The only answer needed to this self-raised difficulty is found in Herodotus III, 70, where we read: "Darius, the son of Hystaspis, arrived at Susa from Persia, where his father was governor (*hyparch*)." From which we gather, first, that, at the time before Darius Hystaspis became king, Susa existed; and secondly, that it was not *in* Persia even then, but in Elam. So that Bertholdt's great insoluble difficulty was all in his own mind!

2. The assumption that Susa was in Daniel's time a seat of the Babylonian court is based upon two further assumptions: (1) that Belshazzar was at this time a Babylonian king, or king of the Babylonians, and (2) that the Hebrew *bira* here means "palace."

(1) As to the first of these assumptions, it is sufficient to remember that Belshazzar is never called a Babylonian king. In Daniel v, 30, he is called "the Chaldean king," and the narrative in the fifth chapter implies merely that he was for a short time in some sense the king of Babylon. Chapter seven, verse one, speaks of his first year as king of Babylon. All the statements

[1] See Bertholdt, *Daniel*, pp. 34, 35.

with regard to the reign of Belshazzar can be reconciled only by supposing that his third year, spoken of in Daniel viii, 1, was his third year as second ruler in the kingdom, or as a sub-ruler under Nabunaid. As the Nabunaid-Cyrus Chronicle says, that a son of the king, *i. e.*, of Nabunaid, was commander of the army in Accad, and as it is generally believed that this son was Belshazzar, the residence of Belshazzar may very well have been at Susa, the largest city next to Babylon in the southern part of Nabunaid's dominions. Daniel may have been on business in Susa, either by commission from the sovereign, king Nabunaid, or as an official under Belshazzar. The court of Susa, then, if court there was, would have been not the Babylonian court of Nabunaid, but the court of Belshazzar the Chaldean. That the years of a sub-king of a sub-kingdom might be dated otherwise than from the time of the accession of the chief ruler, is evident from the fact that the years of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah are reckoned from the year of the accession of the subject and not of the sovereign king. Sometimes, the year of the reign of each is given, as in Jeremiah xxv, 1. And again, the documents of Babylon under the reigns of Shamashshumukin *et al.*, although they reigned as subordinates to the kings of Assyria, were dated according to the years of the sub-kings and not after the years of the overlord.

(2) It is an assumption, however, that a court is spoken of at all in Daniel viii, 2. The Hebrew word *Bira* is certainly a loan word from the Assyrio-Babylonian, where it does not mean "palace" but "fortress," and is a synonym for *halṣu*, "fort," and for *karashu*, "camp." It is more probable, therefore, that in Daniel viii, 2, the phrase is to be rendered "the fortress of

Susa," rather than "the palace of Susa." With this translation, the assumption that there is any reference to a court falls to the ground.

CONCLUSION

The above discussion has shown that the statements of the book of Daniel with regard to Susa are, so far as is known to-day, in exact harmony with the facts revealed on the monuments.

CHAPTER XV

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S MADNESS

WAS Nebuchadnezzar mad? Can he have had such a madness as is described in the book of Daniel? Can he have been mad for as long a time as Daniel says he was? And may his kingdom have been preserved for him during the time that he was ill? Such are the main questions to be considered in the present chapter. Being no specialist in diseases of the mind, it will be necessary to cite medical authorities in answer to the question as to the possibility of a madness such as the author of Daniel describes. As to the other objections made by the critics, it will be observed that in lieu of proof they have recourse to the old phrases "cannot" and "no proof needed to show incredibility." Those of my readers who think that the bare opinion of any man is sufficient to show that an event recorded by an historian is impossible or incredible, need not take the trouble of reading farther than the objections cited below. Those who believe that proof is needed will find, if they read, that nothing either impossible or incredible has been recorded by the author of Daniel as having taken place. It will be further observed that the critics found one of their main objections upon an interpretation of one of the terms used by Daniel,—that which is translated "times" in the English versions of Daniel iv, 25. It will be shown that there is no foundation in

the usage of language for the critics' interpretation of this word as meaning "years"; but that even if this were the meaning of the word in this place, the history of Nebuchadnezzar, as far as it is known at present, does not render it impossible to believe that he may have been ill for seven years.

The objections as made by the critics and the assumptions involved in them are as follows:

Objections Stated

"Nebuchadnezzar's madness during seven years cannot be taken literally."[1] To which I add from Professor Cornill as follows: "No proof is needed to show the incredibility attaching to the supposed incapacity of this king for governing, owing to madness, for the space of seven years."[2]

The question then is, can Nebuchadnezzar have been mad for seven years? We might content ourselves here with quoting Dr. Driver's excellent remark with reference to Nebuchadnezzar's madness and "some other similar considerations."

> Our knowledge [says he] is hardly such as to give us an objective criterion for estimating their cogency. The circumstances alleged will appear improbable or not improbable according as the critic, upon independent grounds, has satisfied himself that the book is the work of a later author, or written by Daniel himself. It would be hazardous to use the statements in question *as proof* of the late date of the book; though, if its date were established on other grounds, it would be not unnatural to regard some of them as involving an exaggeration of the actual fact.[3]

[1] See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Art. Daniel.
[2] See *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 385.
[3] See *Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 500.

But, for the sake of those who will not accept Dr. Driver's very sensible remarks upon this subject, it may be well to consider the following assumptions that are involved in the objections.

Assumptions Involved

1. It is assumed that no man can have suffered from such a madness as that attributed to Nebuchadnezzar in the fourth chapter of Daniel.

2. It is assumed that Nebuchadnezzar cannot have had such a malady for seven years.

Answer to Assumptions

In this chapter we shall be confronted with the same kind of objections and assumptions that have been considered in the last. Professor Cornill is master of all the arts of debate. His pages on Daniel are as full of the words "no proof is needed," "impossible," "incredible," as an illuminated manuscript of gold letter heads. Several times on a single page is the word "impossible" employed by him to characterize the statements of Daniel; several times, the phrase "no proof is needed" to show their incredibility, obscurity, etc. It seems amazing how such a conglomeration of absurdities, such a congeries of impossibilities, should have befooled both Jew and Christian alike for 2000 years or more! Why could not their learned men at least have seen that such things were impossible? And if they are impossible, and if no proof is needed to show this impossibility, why is it that millions to-day, including some who have every right to claim an equality with Professor Cornill and his coadjutors in knowledge,

wisdom, and grace, should still believe them possible? Is no proof needed to convince Professor Cornill's opponents? Perhaps, he thinks, they are not worth trying to convince. Then why did he write his book? Perhaps he thinks that the majority of people to-day will accept the opinion of a professor as they used to accept that of an emperor, or a council. And most likely the majority of his readers will. On behalf, therefore, of this majority that does accept opinion as authority, as well as on behalf of the minority who demand proofs and are willing to abide by the evidence, I appeal from the critics' opinion to the documentary evidence. The writer of Daniel, purporting to give contemporaneous testimony, says that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon was mad during a space of seven times. The critics, interpreting the word for "times" as meaning years, say this is impossible.

In the discussion of this question, I shall consider—

First, whether any man can have suffered from such a madness as that attributed to Nebuchadnezzar?

It would be madness in one who is not a specialist in diseases of the mind to attempt to answer this question. After consulting with some of the most eminent specialists in the line of so-called insanity, and the reading of the best works on the subject that could be found in the libraries of Philadelphia, I have come to the conclusion that there is a general agreement among them as to the possibility of such a disease, or form of insanity, as that with which Nebuchadnezzar is said to have suffered. D. H. Tuke, in his *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*, page 5, says that

the complete loss of personal identity, and the conviction of being changed into one of the lower animals, accom-

panied frequently by a corresponding belief on the part of the beholders, is one of the most remarkable facts which the psychological history of the race reveals.

In the article on Lycanthropy, page 752 of the same dictionary, he cites a well-accredited case of a man who imagined himself to be a wolf, and attempted to act like one, as late as 1852 A. D. The case is described at length by the sufferer's physician, a French specialist of note named Morelle. Dr. Chapin, who was till lately at the head of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, defines insanity as a "prolonged change of a man's ordinary way of thinking and acting, resulting from disease." Dr. Chapin says that the best article upon the insanity of Nebuchadnezzar of which he knows is one by D. R. Burrell, M. D., of Binghampton, N. Y., in the *American Journal of Insanity* for April, 1894, pages 493–504. In this article, Dr. Burrell says among other things of interest bearing on our subject, as to which we refer the reader to the volume cited, that the fourth chapter of Daniel contains "one of the most beautiful and accurate descriptions of the premonition, the onset, the course, and the termination, of a case of insanity that is recorded in any language"(p. 504).

Nothing can be truer to nature and the daily manifestations of the insane than the account of the recovery of the king; the coming out of chaos, or self-absorption; the return of understanding; and then a heart overflowing with thankfulness (*id.*, p. 504).

As to the king's eating grass, he says: "He ate grass—in imitation of the animal he claimed to be—in imitation only—as those now who think they are animals eat in imitation of these animals, but sub-

sist upon the food of man." Dr. Burrell thinks, also, that the treatment afforded to the king was the best possible; and that he never forgot, during the long period of his mental confusion, that he was still Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (*id.*, pp. 502–3).

Resting this part of our case, then, with the testimony of these noted specialists, we proceed to the second question, as to whether Nebuchadnezzar can have had this disease for seven years. The medical experts, as we have seen above, raise no question as to the possibility of a man's suffering from this form of insanity for seven years; but the historical critics have raised the question as to whether the monumental evidence permits us to believe that Nebuchadnezzar can for seven years have been incapacitated from directing the affairs of state. Before entering upon the discussion of this subject from the historical point of view, we want to express our dissent from the statement made by Dr. Burrell in his article on "The Insane Kings of the Bible," cited above, to the effect that "the king may have thought he was an ox, but may have been perfectly sane on other matters." While we would not dogmatically deny that an interpretation of the Aramaic imperfect forms of the verbs found in verses 31 and 33 as frequentatives rather than inceptives, might allow of this view; nevertheless we are decidedly of the opinion that the translation of the English versions is correct, and that the writer meant us to understand that Nebuchadnezzar had not merely a monomania, or craze on one point, but that he was rendered completely incapable of conducting the government. What other sense can be put upon the words, "The kingdom is departed from thee"?

With regard to this question, then, it may be said:

(1) That the translation "seven years" is possible, but not necessarily correct. The word rendered "years" is not the ordinary word for year (*shana*), but a word which means merely a fixed or appointed time (*'iddan* or *'adan*). It seems to be a word of Babylonian origin, meaning "fixed time," and is equivalent often to the Greek *kairos*. In R. C. Thompson's *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, number 251, Rev. 3–6, we read, "let not the king go into the street on an evil day, until the time (*'adan*) of the omen has passed. The omen of a star lasts for a full month."[1]

To be sure, the old version of the Seventy renders this passage by "seven years"; but the version of Theodotion has "seven seasons" (*kairoi*), the Latin Vulgate has *tempora*, and the Arabic has "times" (*'azminatin*).

But even if it be insisted upon that it should here be interpreted as meaning "seven years," why can it not be taken literally? The only sources of information as to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar which we possess outside the Scriptures, are some contract tablets, some building inscriptions, one historical inscription, and six or more sources belonging to profane history, all of these last sources coming to us at second hand. Thus, Josephus cites (1) "the archives of the Phenicians" as saying concerning Nebuchadnezzar that he conquered all Syria and Phenicia and began the siege of Tyre in his seventh year and continued the siege for thirteen years; (2) Philostratus, as mentioning in his history the siege of Tyre for thirteen years; (3) Megasthenes, as pretending to prove in the fourth book of his *Indian History* that Nebuchadnezzar was superior to Hercules in

[1] "Sharru a-na su-u-ḳu la uṣ-ṣa-a (4) adi a-dan-shu sha it-ti (5) it-ti-ku (6) it-it sha kakkab a-di arah ume."

strength and the greatness of his exploits, and as saying that Nebuchadnezzar conquered a great part of Libya, and Iberia also; and (4) Diocles, as merely mentioning Nebuchadnezzar in the second book of his *Accounts of Persia*. To these may be added (5) the accounts which Josephus has taken from Berosus, and (6) those which Eusebius has taken from Abydenus. These last two both refer to the illness of Nebuchadnezzar, but give us no note of time (none at least as to the length of the illness) though they do imply that it occurred near the end of his reign.

The contract tablets give us no facts as to the private or public life of Nebuchadnezzar, except to imply that the regular machinery of government at Babylon ran on uninterruptedly throughout his reign. This implication is gathered, however, from the fact that the tablets are dated continuously throughout every one of the 43 years of his reign, from 604 to 561 B.C., and not from any direct allusions to the political events of the time.

According to Langdon, there is but one of the building inscriptions that should be put between 593 and 580 B.C., and only three between 580 and 561. The one historical inscription which we possess records the invasion of Egypt in the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar, that is, in 567 B.C. Before the expedition to Egypt took place, Nebuchadnezzar may, *for all we know* from the monuments and other sources, have been incapacitated for seven years through insanity. It might be well to note, also, that in an addition at the beginning of the Septuagint version of the fourth chapter of Daniel, it is said that the dream occurred in the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar, that is, in 586 or 587 B.C. As the insanity is said to have commenced a

year later (Dan. iv, 29), this would make the disease to have extended from 586 (5) to 580 or 579 B.C. No known objection can be made to these dates.

It is marvelous how much Bertholdt and others have made out of the fact that Berosus does not expressly and precisely mention the madness of Nebuchadnezzar. In the excerpts from Berosus which have been preserved for us in Josephus and Eusebius, it is said that Nebuchadnezzar "having fallen into weakness died." While we would not argue from this phrase, as Hengstenberg did, that Berosus thus, euphemistically as it were, refers to the madness of Nebuchadnezzar; yet, on the other hand, it is absurd to assert that, inasmuch as Berosus, in the few words concerning Nebuchadnezzar which have come down to us, does not state expressly that Nebuchadnezzar had been mad, that therefore he never was mad. Even if it were true, as Bertholdt asserts, that Berosus knew nothing of his madness, this would not prove that he had not been mad. For it is almost certain that the Babylonian sources from which Berosus derived his information would contain nothing about this great calamity. People never have on their monuments, and very few in their records or autobiographies, the records of their vices, crimes, or weaknesses. De Quincey and Rousseau, each for a reason best known to himself, portrays in fine literary style what most men would conceal, even if true. Cowper, in order to exalt the greatness and goodness of God, refers in one of his poems to his madness, just as Nebuchadnezzar is said to have done to his. But the weaknesses of our friends and of great men are mostly interred with their bones, and we speak no ill of the dead. One would search in vain for a tombstone recording that the inmate of the sepulcher had been for seven times

(years or months) in an insane asylum. Berosus, writing a history of his own country—for according to Josephus "he was by birth a Chaldean"—would naturally want to soften down the character of the calamity which had befallen the greatest of the Chaldean kings. His negative testimony, therefore, must be discounted, and, in an euphemistic manner of speech, his phrase "having fallen into a weakness" may well have referred to his madness.

But says Bertholdt again,

> is it credible that without any scruple, or any fear of a relapse, such as according to common experience in diseases of this kind most frequently occurs, they would have entrusted to the hands of a man that had for many years been bereft of his reason the reins of government, and therewith the lives of many millions of persons? . . .
>
> If Nebuchadnezzar became crazy through discontent (*Unmuth*) and distraction, what wonder that he did not commit suicide![1]

The first assumption here is that the word for time must mean year; but we have seen above that it means simply a fixed time, and that in Assyrian it is defined in one case at least as meaning a month. It is to be said also, that, as Calvin says, their opinion is probable who think that the number ***seven*** is indefinite, ***i. e.***, until a long time had passed.

The second assumption is that insane persons are wont to commit suicide; whereas, as everyone knows from his own knowledge of the insane, but a very small proportion of them desire to commit suicide.

The third assumption is that the government may

[1] *Comm. on Dan.*, pp. 301–302.

not have been carried on for him during his period of insanity. According to verse 36 (33 in the Aramaic) his counselors and lords began to consult him again, as soon as his reason began to return. This implies that they had conducted the government without consulting him, so long as he was incapacitated by his disease.

The fourth assumption is that an insane person would necessarily be deposed. Such a deposition has happened at times in the history of the world, that is true; and even a violent deposition resulting in the death of the ruler, as in the case of Paul of Russia. But how about the Cæsars, and George III of England, and King Louis of Bavaria, not to mention a dozen or more others who may most charitably and reasonably be adjudged to have been insane, and that not in an innocuous sense, but violently and outrageously and homicidally insane? May not a regency have been deemed preferable to an Evil-Merodach, or to possible anarchy?

The fifth assumption is that an insane person would be looked upon and treated in ancient Babylon as such an one might possibly be treated in modern Europe. But we must remember that in antiquity a king was often looked upon as a god and insanity as possession by a god.

> We must not be surprised [says Eusebius] if the Greek historians, or the Chaldeans, conceal the disease, and relate that he was inspired, and call his madness, or the demon by which he was possessed, a god. For it is the custom to attribute such things to a god, and to call demons gods.[1]

[1] *Chron. Arm.*, p. 61.

In accordance with this belief we can understand why Abydenus relates that the Chaldeans said that Nebuchadnezzar having ascended to the roof of his palace became inspired by some god. But not only insane kings, but all kings, were considered in many countries to be divine. So it was with the kings of Egypt. So, also, with the Seleucid kings of Babylon. Because of these beliefs, probably, the subjects of Cambyses so long endured his raging manias.

The sixth assumption is that he would not be permitted to resume his royal functions and glory, if at any time his normal sanity were restored. We would like to know who would have, or could have, attempted to prevent him from resuming his power. To maintain that he would have been thus prevented, we must assume that he was hated or feared by his subjects to such an extent as to have caused them to rebel against his authority. Why then would they not have rebelled and killed him like a mad dog while he was still insane? Having spared him while helpless, we judge that they would not resist him after his reason had returned. Nor do we judge that then any more than now, the physicians can have been positively certain that one attack of insanity would inevitably be followed by another. Of one thing at least we may be certain, that no physician of that day would have thought of advising that Nebuchadnezzar should be excluded from taking up again the reins of government. If one had so advised, it is probable that he would have been hanged higher than Haman!

Conclusion

From the above discussion it is evident that the madness of Nebuchadnezzar may be taken literally;

that he may have been mad for seven years, or times; and that proof is needed to show the incredibility alleged as attaching to his supposed incapacity for governing.

CHAPTER XVI

WERE THE EDICTS OF THE KINGS IMPOSSIBLE?

ONE of the commonest tricks in all kinds of discussion is to assert that the view of your opponent is impossible (*unmöglich*), and that your own is self-evident (*selbst verständlich*). How frequently has the word *impossible* been used to silence the questionings and incredulity of the hearer? And yet, what is impossible? Why even should it be thought a thing impossible with God that *he* should raise the dead? Are not all things possible with him, except to deny himself, to do something contrary to his nature? At least, is it not fair to demand, whenever anyone says that a thing is self-evident or impossible, why he thinks it is thus or so? A few years ago even scientists of note deemed airships impossible. To-day they exist. Let us then be no longer silenced by these imposing words, by whomsoever used. They mean no more, at most, than that to him who uses them a thing *seems* to be self-evident or impossible. In all such cases let us consider it proper to ask: Why is it deemed impossible? Why does it seem to be self-evident? For few truths are self-evident. No historical facts are ever self-evident. But every event that has been recorded as having transpired is evidenced by the document that records it. There may be but one documentary witness to testify that the

given event occurred, but this in itself does not necessarily make it improbable, and certainly not impossible of occurrence. Two witnesses would make the event more probable; three or four, more probable still. No number of witnesses would render an event so certain as to remove all doubt as to its having taken place; but in ordinary cases, "out of the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established."

Certain, also, is it that no event that has been recorded can be rejected as impossible, simply because there is but one witness to the fact of its occurrence. A thing may have happened even if there were no record of it. Countless things, indeed, have happened of which no record at all exists. Even the events of a novel like "She" *may* have transpired. The ingenuity with which the author keeps within the sphere of the possible, while transgressing the radius of the probable, is what carries the reader spellbound to the catastrophe at the bitter end.

After these preliminary remarks on the unreasonableness of rejecting a recorded fact simply because it seems to someone to be impossible, it might be considered needless for us to discuss the assertion that it is impossible that the edicts of the kings recorded in Daniel were ever issued. But inasmuch as this accusation has been made by one of great influence and of great scholarship and high position, let us waive all preconceived opinion and proceed in the usual manner to the discussion.

Objections Stated

No proof [says Professor Cornill] is needed to show the impossible character of the edicts ascribed in chapters iii and iv to Nebuchadnezzar and in chapter vi to

Darius, and the absurdity of the wish attributed to Nebuchadnezzar in chapter ii.[1]

The reader will recall that the first of these edicts, that of the second chapter, was that the wise men of Babylon should be killed, inasmuch as they could not discern and interpret the dream which the king had concealed or forgotten. The decrees in the third chapter were that all who refused to bow down to the image which had been set up should be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace, and that every people, nation, and language, "which speak anything amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, shall be cut in pieces," etc. (v. 29). The decree of the fourth chapter is a general decree covering the whole chapter and directing the nation to praise God because of the signs and wonders he had wrought. The decrees of Darius in the sixth chapter were the one in which anyone praying to any god but himself for thirty days should be cast into a den of lions, and the one wherein he exalts the God who had delivered Daniel from the den of lions (v. 25–27). We have here six decrees, the three exalting God (iii, 29, iv, and vi, 25–27), and the three concerning the killing of the wise men, concerning the fiery furnace, and concerning the den of lions.

Assumption Involved

The great assumption here is that no proof is needed to show that these edicts or decrees are impossible.

Answer to Assumption

There are four kinds of impossibility which ought here to be considered: For these decrees might involve

[1] See *Introduction to the O. T.*, p. 385.

(1) a moral impossibility based on what we know of the character or knowledge of kings and potentates in general or of these kings in particular; or (2), a legal impossibility derived from what is known of the laws of Babylon and Persia; or (3), a physical impossibility based on the difficulty of carrying out such decrees; or (4), an historical impossibility, arising from the fact that there is conclusive evidence that such decrees cannot have been made.

I. As to any one of the decrees presenting a moral impossibility, it certainly cannot be asserted that such decrees are not paralleled by many similar cases in the history of mankind. It does not prove that a decree is impossible to assert, or even to prove, that it is absurd or senseless (*unsinnig*) as Von Lengerke declares the edict of Nebuchadnezzar with regard to the wise men to be. Tyrants have always suffered from the disease which has been fitly named megalomania. Froude and others have put forth the view that almost all of the so-called Cæsars after Augustus were afflicted with this form of insanity. Monarchs and autocrats are most likely to suffer from attacks of this complaint, whether from fear of losing their power or their lives, or from the supposed necessity of upholding their authority or dignity. It must be admitted, also, that persecutions have arisen from the conscientious belief that the opinions of a world-ruler, whose right is claimed to be divine, must and ought to be imposed upon the governed. The Roman emperors from Nero to Galerius persecuted their Christian subjects with edicts and punishments akin in purpose, cruelty, and severity, to those of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius recorded in Daniel iii, iv, and vi. Indeed, the edicts are so similar that one might well believe that the emperors

had copied and emulated the prototypes of Daniel. The decrees of the emperors demanded that all their subjects should burn incense before the statues of the Cæsars. Refusal to do so was followed by confiscation of property and death of the obstreperous.[1] Under Marcus Aurelius, the best of the heathen emperors, the aged bishop Polycarp "was burned at the stake because he would not consent to curse that Lord whom for 86 years he had served"; "Blandina, a delicate female slave, was scourged in the most dreadful manner, roasted on a red-hot iron chair, thrown to the wild beasts, and then executed"; "the dead bodies of the Christians lay in heaps on the streets." Under Septimius Severus, Perpetua was condemned to be gored by a wild cow. Under Decius, one of the ablest of the Roman Cæsars, "every conceivable means—confiscation, banishment, exquisite torture, and death—was employed to induce Christians to apostatize." Now, we can only explain the fact that such noble and great men, as many of these emperors certainly were, resorted to such terrible and terrifying measures to secure the extinction of Christianity and the unity of worship which was involved in the burning of incense to the statues of the Cæsars, on the supposition that they really believed that the safety of the state for whose welfare they were responsible was endangered by what to them appeared to be a godless and abominable sect. It is not fair to call these persecutions of the early Christians senseless (*unsinnig*) from the point of view of the emperors, with their idea of what the state was,

[1] Galerius proposed that everyone refusing to offer sacrifice should be burnt alive. Diocletian denounced punishment of death against all holding secret assemblies for religious worship. See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ii, 63, 64.

and of how it was imperiled by the followers of the despised Jew of Nazareth.

Another parallel to the persecution of the Christians by the Roman emperors may be found in the intolerance of heresy by the Roman hierarchy. It is well for those who protest against the claims of the pope of Rome to be the vicar of Christ to remember that he has made himself responsible for all of the cruel acts of the Inquisition; and that the policy and deeds of the Inquisition, the persecution of the Waldenses, the suppression of the Albigenses, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the destruction of Jews, Moriscoes, and heretics in Spain, and all similar methods of punishing unbelievers, are still upheld by the Roman hierarchy as justifiable on the ground of their divine right and obligation to suppress heresy in every form. Prof. Marianus de Luca, of the Society of Jesus, has recently published a work entitled *Institutions of Public Ecclesiastical Law.*[1] The work was highly commended by Leo XIII in a letter addressed to Professor de Luca and published on the covers of the volumes. In this work, the author maintains that it is still a Catholic tenet "that the church may justly inflict on heretics the penalty of death," and he endeavors to justify this tenet by an appeal to the Scriptures, to the Fathers, to the councils, to the idea and practice of the church, and to reason itself.[2]

In view, then, of these two great outstanding examples of religious intolerance based upon fundamental principles of political, or ecclesiastical, government, we are convinced that the decrees of Nebuchadnezzar and

[1] *Institutiones Juris Ecclesiastici Publici*, Neo-Eborici, 1901.

[2] See for a discussion of this work, Prof. C. H. H. Wright's *Daniel and the Critics*, Appendix III.

Darius (Daniel iii, iv, and vi) were neither senseless nor irrational from their point of view, nor from that of most of their subjects. Cannot anyone see in Nebuchadnezzar, when he forbids on penalty of death that anyone shall worship any other god than the image which he has set up, a prototype of Henry VIII of England, or Philip II of Spain,[1] or Louis XIV of France?[2] No one can read the history of Babylonia and Assyria without seeing how intimately the rise and fall of nations were bound up with the rise and fall of the gods which the people worshiped. "Where," says Sennacherib, "are the gods of Hena and Ivah?" "and shall the god in whom thou trustest deliver thee?" The prayers and records of all the Assyrian and Babylonian and Persian kings show clearly their belief that their power and prosperity were due to the favor of the gods they worshiped. Let one read, for example, the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, Nebuchadnezzar, and Darius Hystaspis, and he will be convinced that they one and all attributed their elevation, their success, the continuance of their life and reign, and the failure or endurance of their prosperity and kingdom, to the favor or disfavor of their gods. When, then, a man flouted at the image of their god, or refused to worship as the king decreed, it was rebellion against the constituted authority in church and state; and the rebellion must be suppressed instantly, and in such a manner as to inspire terror in all other possible offenders. Granted the views of autocracy and of the relation of the gods

[1] According to the decree of Philip II, any Morisco found within ten miles of Granada, if above seventeen years of age, was to incur the penalty of death (Prescott: *Philip the Second*, iii, 265).

[2] At the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the pastors were hanged or burned (Guizot: *History of France*, iv, 338).

to that autocracy which prevailed all through the ancient world, there was nothing else for Nebuchadnezzar nor for Darius the Mede to do, but to proceed to execute summarily the penalty affixed to the transgression of their decrees. As to their decrees, they were perfectly in harmony with the views of the gods and of government which existed among men at the times in which they lived.

As to the character of Nebuchadnezzar, we know from 2 Kings xxv, 7, that he slew the sons of the captive Zedekiah, king of Judah, before his eyes and then put out the eyes of Zedekiah himself and bound him with fetters of brass and carried him to Babylon; and that afterwards he slew Seraiah the chief priest and Zephaniah the second priest, and about seventy other important persons at Riblah in the land of Hamath. Jeremiah adds (chapter lii) that he kept Zedekiah in prison to the day of his death and that he slew all the princes of Judah. Besides, he kept Jehoiachin in prison for thirty-seven years, he being freed only after Nebuchadnezzar's death by his successor Evil-Merodach.

The building inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar throw much light on his character. Those who wish to read the whole of these we refer to Mr. Stephen Langdon's work entitled *The Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire.* They will there find that he was a most devoted worshiper of the heathen gods, especially of Marduk and Nebo. He expended a large part of the wealth of the subject nations upon the restoration of the great temples of Babylonia and especially of Babylon.[1]

[1] On pages 172 and 174 of Langdon's work Nebuchadnezzar speaks of "an image of his royal person," which, possibly, he had set up "before Marduk the king." On page 149 he says that he undertook to raise the

He undertook nothing, however, but at the command of the gods. His authority was derived from them. His works were executed through their help. His conquests were made by their help. His rule was established and his reign secured by them. The fear of his

top of the temple called E-temen-an-ki toward Heaven and to strengthen it, and for this purpose, says he, "the far dwelling peoples over whom Marduk my lord had appointed me and whose care was given unto me by Shamash the hero, all lands and the totality of all men from the upper to the lower seas, distant lands, the men of wide-spread habitations, the kings of distant mountains and remote regions who are between the upper and the lower sea with whose strength Marduk my lord had filled my hands that they might bear his yoke, I summoned together with the worshippers (*ummanat*) of Shamash and Marduk to make E-temen-an-ki." On pages 68, 69, he prays to "Ninkarraka, majestic mistress, to command before Marduk, lord of heaven and earth, the destruction of his foes and the ruin of the land of his enemies" (i, 38–49); and in 2 Col. iii, 30–47, that "Lugal-Marada, his god, may smite the evil-minded, break their weapons, devastate all the land of my enemies and slay all of them. Before Marduk, lord of heaven and earth, make my deeds appear acceptable, speak for my favor." On page 97 we read, "Nebuchadnezzar, who has learned to fear the gods, who causes to exist in the mouths of men the fear of the great gods, who keeps in order the temples of the gods." On page 98 he says, "I consulted all the hidden advice of Shamash, Ramman, and Marduk"; on page 151, "All men of wide-spread habitations I compelled to do service for the building of E-temen-an-ki." And further, on the same page: "Oh Marduk, at thy command the city of the gods has been builded, by thy mighty order that changes not may it prosper; may the work of my hands endure." On page 89, he speaks of "the numerous peoples which Marduk gave into his hands, of gathering all men under his shadow in peace, and of receiving in Babylon the tribute of the kings of all regions and nations." On page 93, he says that Marduk sent him to care for his work, that Nebo caused him to seize a scepter of justice; on page 101, he says that "his ears are attentive to the wisdom of Ninib, the hero, and that he is regardful of the sacred places of Ninib and Ishtar"; and on page 103, he says that "he adorned with gold the shrine of Sarpanit, Nebo, and Marduk, and rebuilt the temples of Nin-mah, Nebo, Ramman, Shamash, Sin, and Ninlilanna," and on page 107, "the temple of Shar-zarbi, Anu, Lugal-marada, and Ishtar." See also the prayers on pages 121, 69, 97, and 89, and for his superstition, pages 93, 99, 109, 121, 123.

gods was in his heart and in the heart of all the peoples subject to him, so that they obeyed his will and did his works. He prayed to them and they revealed to him their will. His offerings to them were more numerous than those of any who had preceded him and their favors to him excelled those that they had granted to any others. Through their favor, he slew all his enemies and subdued all his foes.[1]

With reference to the belief of Nebuchadnezzar in dreams and visions, which really lies at the foundation of his strenuous insistence upon their correct interpretation, it may be said and emphasized that no one can get a right view of ancient history without fully realizing that the heroes of those times were the born and bred children of superstition, that the greatest kings

[1] As to the demand of the wise men, that they should discover the dream before they attempted to interpret it, Dr. Behrmann, in his commentary on Daniel, has called attention to a parallel case mentioned in Ibn Hisham's *Life of Muhammed*. For the benefit of those of our readers who have not access to this work, either in its Arabic original or in Wüstenfeld's German translation, we subjoin a translation of this passage: "Rabia son of Nassr, was one of the weakest of the Toba kings of Yemen. He saw a frightful vision and was exceedingly troubled by it. So he called the prophets, enchanters, soothsayers, and astrologers of all his kingdom and said to them: I have seen a frightful vision and am exceedingly troubled by it. Tell me it, therefore, and its meaning. And they said: Relate it unto us and we will tell its meaning. And he said to them: If I tell you about it, I cannot be certain about your telling its meaning. Behold, he cannot know its meaning who knows not it before I tell it to him."

To this parallel, we would add another from the Arabian Nights taken from the story of Seifelmolouk, which illustrates the rage of an eastern potentate when his wise men have failed him. When King Asim heard that his son was ill, he summoned the sages and astrologers and they looked at him and prescribed for him; but he remained in the same state for a period of three months. So King Asim was enraged and said to the sages: "Woe to you, O dogs! Are ye all unable to cure my son? Now, if ye cure him not immediately, I will slay you all!" (Lane's *Arabian Nights*, ii, 290.)

and generals believed in dreams and visions and followed the advice of dream interpreters and soothsayers of all sorts.

For example, Ashurbanipal, the last great king of Assyria, says in his *Annal* inscription,[1] that Ashur revealed Ashurbanipal's name to Gyges, king of Lydia, in a dream, saying: "Embrace the feet of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, and thou shalt conquer in his name thine enemies." "On the same day on which he saw the dream, he sent his horsemen to greet me and sent this dream which he had seen through his ambassador and told it to me. From that day on, from the time that he embraced my feet, he conquered the Cimmerians." On Col. iii, 118, he says that

> On the same night in which his brother Šamaššumukin rebelled against him, a seer of dreams lay down at night upon the earth and saw a dream, as follows: Upon the face of the moon stood written: "Whoever plans evil against Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, and undertakes a battle against him, to him will I cause an evil death to come; through the lightning-like sword, firebrand, hunger, and the rage of Gira, will I put an end to his life." This I heard, and I trusted on the word of Sin, my Lord.

On Col. v, 97–103, he says that in his campaign against Ummanaldis, king of Elam, his troops feared to pass the rushing flood of the river Ididi; but Ishtar that very night caused the troops to see a dream and in it said to them, "I am going before Ashurbanipal, the king, whom my hands have formed." Trusting in this dream the troops crossed the Ididi in good spirits (*shalmish*). Finally, Col. x, 51–120, he speaks of rebuilding the *Bit-riduti*, or palace, "in which upon his bed the gods

[1] Col. ii, 95–104.

had given him favorable dreams by night and good thoughts by day."

According to Herodotus, the war of Xerxes against Greece was instigated by some most singular dreams which came to him and his uncle, Artabanus; and without the influence of these dreams, Herodotus says that the war would not have been undertaken (Bk. VII, 12–18). Alexander, also, is represented by his biographers, as having been guided in his undertakings by dreams, visions, and omens; and as having a prophet (*mantis*) always with him.[1] So, Nebuchadnezzar speaks of Ninkarrak, his beloved mistress, who gives him good visions;[2] prays to Shamash to answer him honestly by dreams and visions;[3] says that his father had cleaned the foundations of the *zikkurat* of Babylon by oracular commission[4] and that he restores the temple of Shamash who in visions announces the truthful reply;[5] and uses many other similar phrases, showing his belief in and obedience to the will of the gods as revealed in visions and responses.

Nabunaid says in the great inscription from Ur, Col. ii, 45–51, that Ishtar of Agani, his mistress, sent him a dream through which to discover the foundations of Iulbar. In the inscription from Abu-Habba, Col. i, 16–33, he says that

in the beginning of his kingdom, the gods caused him to see a dream (*ushabru' inni shutti*). Marduk, the great god, and Sin, the light of heaven and earth, stood on either side, and Marduk spoke to me: "Nabunaid, king of Babylon, with the horse of thy wagon bring bricks and build Íhulhul

[1] See Arrian's *Expedition of Alexander*, *passim*.
[2] Langdon, Nk., i; Col. iii, 5–8.
[3] *Id.*, xii; Col. iii, 20–22.
[4] *Id.*, xvii; Col. i, 44–50.
[5] *Id.*, xix; Col. vii, 62–66.

and cause Sin the good lord to occupy his dwelling place therein." Reverently spake I to the lord of the gods: "That temple which thou hast commanded to build, the Scythian surrounds it, and extensive are his troops." But Marduk said to me: "The Scythian whom thou hast mentioned—he, his land, and the kings, his helpers, are no more." In the third year, they caused him to go to war, and Cyrus, the king of Anzan his little vassal, scattered with his few troops the far-extended Scythians. Astyages the king of the Scythians he captured and brought as a prisoner to his own land.

On Col. ii, 59–61, he says that "Shamash, the great god of Ibara, showed to him the dwelling place of his heart's joy, in Tashrit, on the favorable month, on the lucky day, which Shamash and Ramman had made known to him in a dream."

Astyages, the contemporary of Nabunaid, and the grandfather of Cyrus, saw two dreams which the dream-interpreters explained as prefiguring the conquest of all Asia by his grandson, Cyrus.[1]

We may truly say that the men of that time, even the greatest of them, lived and moved in a world of dreams. The greater the man, the more important his dreams, both in consequences to himself and to those about him. Hence, we can in a measure imagine the wrath and uncontrollable indignation of Nebuchadnezzar when he finds that he cannot trust the ability of his wise men to explain the dream that troubles him. One great part of his system of kingcraft seemed to have collapsed. How could he, henceforth, find out the will of those gods on whom he depended and whose commands and wishes he followed, if this great means of revealing their will through visions and dreams was

[1] Herodotus, I, 107.

rendered nugatory through the ignorance or incapacity of the interpreters of dreams? No wonder he was beside himself with rage with what was to him, perhaps, the first consciousness of utter helplessness he had ever felt! This will account, also, for his extravagant outbursts of praise in honor of Daniel and his God. From the above statements as to the beliefs and declarations and acts of Nebuchadnezzar gathered from his own and contemporary documents, it is evident that there is no moral impossibility of his having issued the edicts recorded in the book of Daniel as having been issued by him.

As to Darius the Mede, inasmuch as no one knows anything about his character except what is to be derived from the book of Daniel, we are content to leave to the judgment of our readers the answer to the question as to whether the man whose life is portrayed for us in the sixth chapter could have been induced to issue the decree about the prayers to himself and about the punishment of being thrown into the den of lions for disobedience to the same, or the decree ordering all nations to fear the God of Daniel. We believe that the question can be answered as well by the ordinary reader as by the most learned professor. For it is not a question demanding scholarship for its answer, but simply common sense.

The only other question with reference to the moral possibility of such decrees that might be reasonably raised would arise from the doubt as to whether a king of Media or Persia would probably make a decree forbidding anyone to pray to, or make request of, any god or man save of himself, or a decree commanding the nations to fear the God of Daniel. Those who deny the possibility of such decrees, assume that enough is known

of the religious ideas of the kings of Media and Persia to enable us to assert that such decrees would have been utterly repugnant to their beliefs. It is assumed that their belief was an unadulterated Zoroastrianism, and that the Zoroastrianism of that time as well as of later times forbade the worship of any god save Auramazda, the only and supreme god. But whatever the general belief may have been, it can scarcely be claimed that Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis the Magian, Astyages, and the Achæmenian kings of the family of Darius Hystaspis, or any of the kings of Persia, recognized no other god but one. For example, Cyrus in the Cylinder Inscription says that it was Marduk, the god of Babylon, who in his anger at Nabunaid troubled himself to call Cyrus, king of the city of Anshan, to the dominion of all the world (10–12). Marduk, also, enabled him to subdue the land of Kuti and the Scythians, commanded him to make his expedition to Babylon and as a friend and helper at his side, caused him to enter Babylon without a battle, delivered Nabunaid into his hands, and showed himself gracious unto him (13–21). Bel and Nebo, also, are said to love his rule and to have desired with joyful heart his dominion (22). Cyrus concludes the inscription with the prayer that all the gods may daily make known before Bel and Nebo the length of his days, may speak the word of his grace, and say to Merodach, his lord, a prayer for Cyrus the king, who honors them, and for Cambyses his son. In the Cyrus Chronicle, no mention of the religious views of Cyrus occurs; but his breadth of view as to polytheism is implied in the statement on the *Reverse*, line 21, that as soon as he became king of Babylon, the gods of Accad, which Nabunaid had caused to be carried to Babylon, were brought back to their own cities.

Nothing further is known from the Persian and Babylonian monuments as to the religious views of Cyrus and Cambyses.

The Egyptian records, however, tell us that Cambyses came to Egypt, "willing to conform to the local worships that he found."[1]

> He worshiped before the holiness of Neit with much devotion, as all the kings had done; he made great offerings of all good things to Neit, the great, the divine mother, and to all the gods who dwell in Sais, as all the pious kings had done.[2]

Darius Hystaspis is said on the same inscription to have continued the policy of Cambyses.

> His Majesty, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius, ordered me [i. e., *Uza. hor. res. neit*] to go to Egypt while his Majesty was in Aram [Syria] in order to reëstablish the school of sacred scribes. His Majesty did this because he knew the virtue of this work of restoring all that he found wrecked, and to restore the names of all the gods, their temples, their endowments, and the management of their feasts forever.[3]

Nothing whatever is known from the monuments as to the views of Smerdis the Magian, and Darius Hystaspis, except what Darius tells us in his Behistun and other inscriptions. That Darius was a polytheist appears in the Persepolis Inscription H, where he prays: "Let Auramazda and the clan-gods help me," "that an enemy may not come to this country, nor an army, nor a dearth nor a rebellion; for his favor I beseech Aura-

[1] Petrie: *History of Egypt*, iii, 361.

[2] *Id.*, 361, 362. Translated by Petrie from the inscription on the statue of *Uza. hor. res. neit.*

[3] *Id.*, 362.

mazda and the clan-gods; may Auramazda and the clan-gods grant me this." So Xerxes, in inscriptions E, A, C, and K of Spiegel, prays that "Auramazda and the gods may protect him and his kingdom." Artaxerxes Longimanus, who ruled immediately after Xerxes, from 465 to 425 B.C., prays in the only inscription of his that we have that Auramazda, Anahita, and Mithra may protect him. Artaxerxes Ochus prays that Auramazda and Mithra may protect him and his land.

Let us remember, too, that it was not an unheard-of thing for kings to be looked upon as gods. The kings of Egypt were worshiped as such from immemorial times. The idea of Divus Cæsar is closely connected with the divine right of kings. Both gods and kings were lords. Both were absolute monarchs and autocrats. The difference between the power of a god and that of a king might easily be looked upon as one of degree and not of kind. That kings could be called gods is witnessed by Pharaohs, Ptolemies, Seleucids, Herods, and Cæsars. It is, therefore, neither unnatural, grotesque, nor improbable, that the courtiers of this Median king should have flattered him with the same ascriptions of godlike power.

Finally, whatever may have been the belief of the Persians, or of the Medes, as to one or more gods, the decrees of Darius the Mede were meant to apply not merely to the Persians and Medes among his subjects, but to the Babylonians, Assyrians, Jews, and all other nations as well. Many of these nations had many gods. The first edict of Darius forbids anyone of any nation from making request of any god or man, save of himself. This may, or may not, imply that the king himself, or any of his subjects, considered Darius to be a god.

It certainly prohibits one and all from praying to anyone for, or asking from anyone, anything, except from the king, leaving aside the question as to the belief of the person praying.[1]

From whatever side considered, therefore, there is nothing in what we know of the character of either Nebuchadnezzar or Darius the Mede, to make it impossible to believe that such decrees as those recorded in Daniel were actually made. A *moral* impossibility against such decrees is a figment of the objector's imagination.

II. As to the *legal* impossibility against the issue of such decrees, one need only say that the evidence shows that the doctrine of the divine origin and authority of their kingship was always claimed as the ground of the right of the kings of both Babylon and Persia to rule.

All that we know of the kings of ancient Babylon shows us that the laws of the land were formulated by the kings, without any control except what was exercised by the gods, doubtless through the medium of the priests. For example, Hammurabi speaks of the judgments of the land which he had pronounced and the decisions of the land which he had rendered;[2] and he expresses the hope that future kings may pronounce judgments for the black-headed people and render their decisions.[3] So, also, Nebuchadnezzar refers again and again to the fact that he had been appointed by

[1] The decree of Darius the Mede, commanding his subjects to tremble before the God of Daniel, is paralleled in the Scriptures by the decree of Cyrus recorded in 2 Ch. xxxvi, 23, and Ezra i, 2–4, by the decree of Darius recorded in Ezra vi, 8, acknowledging the God of heaven, and by the decrees of Artaxerxes found in Ezra vii, 12–26, and Neh. xi, 23, and ii, 7, 8.

[2] Harper: *Code, Epilogue*, 68–71.

[3] *Id.*, 85–90.

Marduk to rule over all peoples; and he prays to Shamash, "who makes successful faithful decisions," to grant him "a scepter of righteousness, a good rule, and a just sway."[1] So, also, the Persian kings in the formulation and promulgation of their laws admitted no other control than that of Auramazda. Thus Darius says: "These are the lands which submitted to me; what was commanded them by me was carried out. Through the grace of Auramazda have their lands been constituted according to my law: as it was commanded them by me, so was it done."[2]

The fact, also, that the kings never acknowledge any laws of men as binding upon them, but appeal always for their right to make decrees and for their authority to execute them to the revealed will of the gods whom they served, shows that they recognized no such human laws as binding upon them. Appeal is made, it is true, in Daniel vi, to the laws of the Medes and Persians; but in the same chapter it is shown how a king could decree a law which annulled in its practice all the laws and customs as to the worship of Auramazda, Marduk, and all the other gods, which had prevailed up to that time. In Esther, too, we are shown how laws once made could be circumscribed and circumvented by new laws which rendered their execution practically impossible. The case of Cambyses, recorded by Herodotus (Bk. III, 31), when "he summoned the royal judges and asked them if there was any law permitting one who wished to marry his sister," is not against the theory that the king was autocratic; for the judges, while saying, "they could find no law permitting a brother to marry his sister," said also, that "they had discovered another law which permitted the

[1] Langdon, *op cit.*, p. 99.

[2] *Beh. Ins.* i, 7, 8.

king of Persia to do whatever he pleased." In the inscriptions of both Nebuchadnezzar and Darius Hystaspis the view of "*L'état c'est moi*" (I am the state) is observable everywhere. As was said to be true of a recent writer, the fonts of type would scarcely have enough capital *I's* to enable the printer to set up the translation of the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar; and as for Darius, he begins every sentence with a "thus saith Darius the king." The history of Herodotus, also, shows that the kings of Persia were absolutely autocratic, monarchs beyond control, except through their superstitions and their fears.

III. As to the carrying out of these decrees having been *physically* impossible, a few words only need be said; and we shall say these words under three heads corresponding to the three principal decrees.

1. As to the decree of Nebuchadnezzar in chapter two that all the wise men of Babylon should be killed, it is perfectly certain that it was practically possible of accomplishment. The wise men were probably distinguished by a peculiar dress. At any rate, they would belong to guilds, or classes, whose members would be known by name as well as by vocation. We may compare with this edict for their destruction the similar edict of Saul to destroy the witches, and the massacre of the Magians by Darius, and the annihilation by the new régime of Egyptian kings of the followers of the new cult of the sun disk established by Amenophis IV.

2. The decree of Nebuchadnezzar in chapter iii, according to which those who refused to obey his commands were to be burned in a fiery furnace, was easy to carry out and was apparently in agreement with Assyrio-Babylonian custom. For we are told that Shamashshumukin the brother of Ashurbanipal threw

himself into a furnace of fire.[1] Ashurnaṣirpal, also, speaks frequently of the burning of people in a fire.[2]

3. The decree of Darius the Mede with regard to the den of lions was easy of execution, inasmuch as at that time lions were common in all that part of the world. The Assyrian kings were wont to hunt lions as a pastime. Thus Tiglath-Pileser I says that he killed 920 lions in one hunting expedition;[3] and Ashurnaṣirpal says that he killed at one time 120 lions and that at another time he captured 50 young lions and shut them up in Calah and in the palaces of his land in cages and let them produce their young.[4] At another time he killed 370 strong lions.[5] In his menagerie, he says, also, that he had herds of wild oxen, elephants, lions, birds, wild asses, gazelles, dogs, panthers,[6] and all animals of the mountains and of the plains, to show to his people.[7] Moreover, the Hebrew poets and prophets were familiar with lions; the people, also, made proverbs concerning them; and their heroes, such as Samson and David, are said to have slain them. So, also, the oldest story in the Aramaic language (that of Achikar from the fifth century B.C.) treats the lion as a well known animal.[8] Herodotus says that lions interfered with the march of Xerxes' army to Greece.[9] Surely, if we can believe that the Romans imported lions from Africa and threw the Christians to them in the Coliseum, we can readily believe that a Median king of Babylon may have had a den of lions into which to throw those who had

[1] KB. ii, 190. [2] *E. g.*, KB. i, 71, 75, 77, 81, 91.
[3] KB. i, 39. [4] *Id.* [5] *Id.*
[6] This word *nimru* may denote also leopard or tiger. [7] *Id.*
[8] See Sachau: *Aram. Pap.*, p. 181. [9] Bk. VII.

disobeyed his laws. Certainly, at least, there was no physical impossibility in the matter.

IV. As to its being *historically* impossible that the edicts recorded in Daniel should have been issued, it need only be asked what evidence there is against them. Not one edict of Nebuchadnezzar or of any other New Babylonian king, is recorded in any contemporaneous document that has come down to us. Several commands, or orders of the day, of Nebuchadnezzar are found in the Scriptures. Thus, at his command, Zedekiah and Ahab were roasted in the fire;[1] the children of Zedekiah king of Judah were slain before the eyes of their father, whose eyes were then put out;[2] and Jehoiachin was carried to Babylon in chains and kept in prison for thirty-seven years.[3]

In Nebuchadnezzar's own inscriptions, there are the following orders, but no formal decrees. He summoned (*iḳbi*) the peoples that he ruled to build one of his temples and compelled them to do service,[4] and he regulated (*manu*) the offerings to the god Marduk.[5] So, also, Nabunaid orders the workmen (*ummanati*) of Shamash and Marduk to build Ebarra;[6] and commands the wise men of Babylon to seek the old foundation of Ebarra in Sippar. Cyrus, moreover, proclaimed peace in Babylon just after he entered it as conqueror.[7] Darius I issued a grant for the rebuilding of the college of physicians at Sais.[8] Xerxes commanded that the inscription of Van should be made.[9]

It will thus be seen that not merely have no decrees

[1] Jer. xxix, 22. [2] *Id.*, lii, 11. [3] 2 Kings xxv, 27.
[4] Langdon, 148–151. [5] *Id.*, 159. [6] *Id.*, p. 241.
[7] KB. iii, 2, 135.
[8] *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, xxxvii, 72–74.
[9] Spiegel: *Altpers. Keilinschrift.*, p. 66.

strictly so-called of the kings of Babylon and Persia come down to us; but that few even of their commands have been preserved to us, except such as are given in the Greek historians. There must have been thousands of decrees made by these kings. What these decrees were we cannot know. To deny that the decrees recorded in Daniel were made would involve a knowledge of all the decrees that these kings made. Such a knowledge will never be ours. It is futile, therefore, to say that it was impossible that Darius made a decree about the lions, or Nebuchadnezzar about the image, or Belshazzar about the promotion of Daniel. One can at best merely deny that there is outside of Daniel any evidence that these decrees were made. This, indeed, is admitted. It is maintained, however, that lack of evidence for is not evidence against. Unless Daniel's positive and explicit statements can be disproved, their veracity stands unimpeached.

Conclusion

It is evident, then, that the edicts of the kings as recorded in Daniel are not merely not impossible, but that they are very probable. They certainly may have been enacted. Daniel says they were. It has not been shown, it cannot be shown, that what he says is not true. But it has been shown that it is not impossible for them to be genuine. It has been shown, further, that they very probably are genuine, inasmuch as they harmonize with what we would expect from such kings as Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius the Mede and from the conditions under which they lived and reigned.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHALDEANS

It is futile to suppose that we can define the vocabulary which the writer of an ancient document must have used. To say that a given ancient record cannot have been written before a certain date because a certain word or phrase occurs in it, is to assume a knowledge which we to-day seldom possess. Almost every new find of documents in whatever language written presents to us a number of words which before its discovery were unknown to us. Thus, the papyrus containing the Mimes of Herodas, first published in 1891, revealed a large number of Greek vocables which were not made known in other Greek works of antiquity and were not to be found in our standard classical dictionaries. So, also, the Greek papyri, ostraka, and inscriptions have enlarged our knowledge of the so-called Hellenistic Greek, until it has required the rewriting of our grammars and a readjustment of all our conceptions of the origin and use of the common Greek language of New Testament times.

The recent finds of Aramaic documents in Egypt have in like manner caused a revolution in our ideas of the Aramaic of the times of Ezra. Not merely do they necessitate a revision of all of our previous theories with regard to the orthography, phonology, morphology, and syntax of the Aramaic language; they also supple-

ment the vocabulary with a large number of hitherto undiscovered terms. Above all, they make known to us a large number of foreign words which the Arameans of that time and country had adopted from their rulers and neighbors. So that, when we survey the whole field of foreign words in the various Aramaic dialects, and especially in Egypto-Aramaic, there are found among other peculiarities the following:

I. 1. Many foreign words are to be found in use in but one Aramaic document.

2. Some words known to be foreign can be identified with no terms found as yet in the original language from which they are known to be derived.

3. Some words, whose foreign origin is certain, are found in use in Aramaic documents long before they are found in use in the original language from which they were derived.

4. Some foreign words are found in use in an early document although they are not found again for hundreds of years.

5. Aramaic words which have been supposed to be borrowed are sometimes found to have been native, or at least to be Semitic.

6. Some are found in different documents and in different dialects, but are confined to one age and derived from one source dating from the same period.[1]

[1] In illustration of the above statements the following examples may be given:

I. 1. (1) *Astabid* is found in the Syriac Aramaic of Joshua the Stylite (sec. lix) and there only. It is a Persian word said by Joshua to mean *Magister*, or "master of the soldiery."

(2) *Chartummin* (Dan. ii, 10, 27; iv, 6; v, 11), denoting one kind of soothsayer, is found nowhere else in Aramaic. It seems to have been taken over by the author of Daniel from the Hebrew of Genesis, the only place where it occurs in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. It

II. 1. Further, of pure Aramaic words, some are found in the early documents which are not found again in the Aramaic dialects for hundreds of years.

2. Secondly, some are used in one dialect alone.

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is derived apparently from the Egyptian, though not identified with any known Egyptian word.

2. (1) *Nopata*, "ship-master," of Sachau Papyrus No. 8, from Persian *Nav* "ship," and *pati*, "lord." This compound word is found in no other Aramaic document, or dialect; nor does it occur in Hebrew, nor in Phenician, early or late; nor, in fact, has it been found in Old, Middle, or New Persian. The sense of the context in Papyrus 8, and of a word of like meaning in New Persian, and the meaning of the parts of the compound, seem, however, to justify the form and meaning of the word in this place as given by Dr. Sachau.

(2) *Sewnekanin* "Syenese" of the Sac. Pap. No. 4, formed by affixing the Persian ending *kan* to the word Syene, and then putting on the Aramaic plural ending *in*.

(3) *Patbag* "delicacies" has not been found in Persian either ancient or modern.

(4) Further examples of this kind are the Greek words *kerkiesis* and *kerkesiris*, from the Ptolemaic period, composed of the Aramaic word *kerk* "village" and the nouns *Isis* and *Osiris*. These Aramaic words which are thus made known by the Greek papyri have never been found in any other Aramaic documents.

3. (1) *Dathbar* (Dan. ii, 2, 3) "judge," is certainly derived from the Persian *dath*, "law," and *bar* "to bear." It is found in Babylonian, also, but not in the Old Persian of the inscriptions, nor in the Avesta. (See Davis in *Harper Mem. Volume.*)

(2) *Artabe* a kind of measure, is said by Herodotus (Bk. I, 192) to be a Persian word taken over into Greek. Herodotus uses it before 424 B. C.; but it does not occur in any document in Old or Middle Persian. It is found under the form *ardab* in the Aramaic of the Sachau Papyrus, No. 25, 4, *et al.*

(3) *Pitgam* "command," "word," (Dan. iii, 16, iv, 14), is found in Armenian under the form *padgam*. It is not found in the Persian of the inscriptions nor in that of the Avesta.

4. As examples of foreign words found in use in an early document of a language and not found again for hundreds of years we may note:

(1) *Zarnika* "arsenic" occurs in Sac. Pap. No. 8, and not again in Aramaic till after 200 A. D. According to Lagarde (G. A., 47, 117) this is a Persian word. (See Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr. in loc.*)

3. Thirdly, some are used in documents from one age alone.[1]

Since no one of these nine statements can be denied, it will be a reckless man who will assert that a word cannot have been used by a writer of the sixth century

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(2) *Kebritha*, "brimstone" is a second example of the same kind. Sac. Pap. 9,17, 21.

(3) *Stater* is a Greek word used in the Egyptian papyri of the fifth century B.C. a number of times, but not found again in Aramaic till 200 A.D. Sac. Pap. 15, 29, 3; 34, 4, 7, 9, 60, 9; 11, 12.

5. As examples of words supposed to have been derived from one language but which have been discovered later to have been derived from another, are:

(1) *Mdy*, "a measure," which was formerly supposed to have been borrowed from the Latin *modius*. Inasmuch as it occurs in Sac. Pap. No. 8, of the year 412 B.C., it seems impossible to hold longer this view. It is better to take it from the Assyrian *madadu* or from the Hebrew *mada*, "to measure."

(2) So, *iggereth*, "letter," which Marti in his *Kurz. Gram. der Aram. Sprache*, Berlin, 1911, p. 57, compares only with Iranian, New Persian, and Greek, is surely Assyrio-Babylonian. It is found, for example, in Harper's letter 931, obv. 13, written about 650 B.C. See, also, letter 414, obv. 18.

6. As examples of words used in a certain age alone may be mentioned ארגבמא (de Vogüé 26, A.D. 264) = ארקבמא in Targum to 2 Chron. xxviii, 7.

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[1] In illustration of the statements under II, the following examples may be given:

1. As examples of Aramaic words found in the Egypto-Aramaic which are not found again for centuries, may be mentioned:

(1) *Sefina*, "ship" (Sac. Pap. 8); and

(2) *Peshka*, "handbreadth" (*id.*).

2. As examples of words used in one dialect alone may be mentioned:

(1) *Ducenarius*, found in Palmyrene alone, see de Vogüé 24, 2 (A.D. 263); *id.*, 25, 2 (A.D. 263); *id.*, 26, 2 (A.D. 264).

(2) *Degel*, "regiment," found in this sense in the Egypto-Aramaic alone (Sac. Pap., 15, 29, 2 *bis;* 26, 27, 3 *bis;* 32, 2; 59, 4, 2; 60, 3, 2; 71, 12; 33, 33, 2; 58, 3, 2; 52, 1), though it occurs also in New Hebrew.

3. As examples of words used in documents of one age alone, see *gazerin* (Dan. ii. 27, iv,4, v,7, 11) for the augurs of Babylon, and *'hinâ*, "opportunity" in *Joshua the Stylite*, xiii and lix.

B.C., because that word has been found in no other known author of that time, or in fact, of any other time. We simply do not know enough to make these assertions, and we might as well admit it. To say that a writer of Aramaic of the sixth century B.C. cannot have used the word "Chaldean" or the Greek names of three musical instruments is merely to make an assertion that lies beyond the bounds of proof. The desire to find fault and to depreciate the genuineness of Daniel overrides the historico-philological judgment of those who say it. Neither history nor philology supports such an assertion, as I shall attempt in the following discussion to show. Before entering upon this discussion, however, the following *caveat* must be entered, to wit: that even though it may be impossible to demonstrate when or how certain foreign words came into a language, the time of their coming there cannot commonly be determined by the date at which they first appear in another document, whether this other document be in the language from which the word has been derived, or in the language that has derived the word. All analogy, based on records already found, would lead us to believe that hundreds of both native and foreign words were used by the ancient Arameans that have hitherto been discovered in no Aramaic document.[1] The accumulating finds in Greek teach us that there were doubtless thousands of Greek words in common use that have never been used by the classical writers

[1] For proof of this statement, it is only necessary to attempt to translate Sachau Papyrus 8 which is full of Persian and Egyptian words, many of them of unknown meaning; and also of good Aramaic words, as to which Prof. Sachau well remarks: "was man sonst aus dem Aramäischen oder Hebräischen weiss und zum Vergleich heranziehen kann, ist nicht genügend, um das Verständnis dieser Urkunde zu erschliessen." (See Sachau: *Aram. Pap.*, p. 47.)

that have come down to us. Any one of these words might have been borrowed by the Arameans and others who came in contact with the Greeks who used them. Again, new discoveries in the Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, and all other ancient languages are always revealing to us afresh our ignorance of the fullness of their vocabularies, and of the origin and use of their words. Cognizant of this universal lack of knowledge of the limitations of the vocabularies of ancient languages, and refusing to be bound by mere assertions that a given word cannot have been used by a given writer at a given time, inasmuch as we do not happen to know that some other writer of that same time or of some time previous used it, I pass on to a consideration of the objections made to the book of Daniel on the assumption that its author has employed certain words which could not have been used in the sixth century B. C. I shall, at present, confine myself to a discussion of the word "Chaldean," as to which the critics of Daniel assert that it cannot have been used as early as the sixth century B. C. to denote the Babylonian astrologers, inasmuch, they say, as it is not found in use in this sense until a much later time.

Objections Stated

Professor Cornill says: "The manner in which the term *kasdim* (Chaldean), exactly like the Latin Chaldæus, is used in the sense of soothsayer and astrologer (ii, 2, 4, 5, 10; iv, 4; v, 7, 11) is *inconceivable* at a time when the Chaldeans were the ruling people of the world."[1]

Professor Driver states the objection as follows:

[1] *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 387.

The "Chaldeans" are synonymous in Daniel (i, 4; ii, 2; etc.) with the caste of wise men. This sense "is unknown to the Ass. Bab. language, has, wherever it occurs, formed itself after the end of the Babylonian empire, and is thus an indication of the post-exilic composition of the Book" (Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, 2nd edition, p. 429). It dates, namely, from a time when practically the only "Chaldeans" known belonged to the caste in question (comp. Meinhold, *Beiträge*, p. 28).[1]

Professor Meinhold, to whom Dr. Driver refers, says in the passage cited as follows:

Wonderful above all things appears to us the use of the name *Kasdim*. For while *Kasdim* everywhere else in the Old Testament is a designation of the Babylonian people, we find here alongside of this common meaning (iii, 8: v, 30) that of Magians which is also known from the profane historians. As to what particular kind of Magians these are is not clear, since *Kasdim* is at times the general designation of the totality of all classes of wise men (ii, 10) and at times is a special designation of a division of the same (iv, 4; v, 10). This striking appearance is only to be explained by the fact that the Jews of the exile had first learned something of the Chaldeans as a special division of the wise men within the totality of the Babylonian nation. Everywhere in the Old Testament *kasdim* appears rather as the most general name of the whole people.

The more specific meaning, however, shows that the knowledge of the kingdom of the Chaldeans had only been retained in the memory of the priests and wise men of succeeding times. While everything else had soon passed away and disappeared in the course of time, the castes, because of a religious kind, could still long be retained in remembrance. They were the only remains of the Chaldeans. They were the Chaldeans. Thus is explained the

[1] *Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 498.

later use of the name. An exilic author could, however, not write thus.[1]

Assumptions Involved

There are here the following assumptions:

I. That the term *kasdim* to denote the ruling nation in Babylon passed away from the remembrance of succeeding times, while the use of it to denote the wise men remained.

II. 1. That the original of the word *kasdim*, in the sense of a priestly class, is not found on the monuments.

2. That the word Chaldean as used for priest, or wise man, is of the same origin, or meaning, as the word Chaldean as used to denote a people.

3. That the absence of the term in its priestly sense from the Assyrio-Babylonian monuments proves that it was not employed by the Babylonians in common speech to denote a certain class of wise men.

III. That the apparent absence of the word from the Assyrio-Babylonian language is a proof that it was not used in the Aramaic language.

Answer to Assumptions

I. Taking up the assumptions in the order named, we shall discuss the first under two heads: first, the use of the word to denote a people, and secondly, its use to denote a priestly class.

[1] It is admitted that in the Scriptures outside of Daniel, the word always denoted a people.

The places where it is employed in this sense are, Gen. xi, 28, 31; xv, 7; 2 Kings, xxiv, 2; xxv, 4, 5, 10, 13, 24, 25, 26; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 17; Neh. ix, 7; Job i, 17; Is. xiii, 19; xxiii, 13; xliii, 14; xlvii, 1, 5; xlviii, 14, 20; Jer. xxi, 4, 9; xxii, 25; xxiv, 5; xxv, 12; xxxii, 4, 5, 24, 25, 28, 29, 43; xxxiii, 5; xxxv, 11; xxxvii, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14; xxxviii, 2, 18, 19, 23; xxxix, 5, 8; xl, 9, 10; xli, 3, 18; xliii, 3; l, 1, 8, 10, 25, 35, 45; li, 4, 24, 35, 54; lii, 7, 8, 14, 17; Ezek., i, 3; xi, 24; xii, 13; xxiii, 14, 15, 16, 23; Hab. i, 6.

1. It is admitted that in the Scriptures outside of Daniel the word always denoted a people. In Daniel, also, it is employed to denote a people; once in the Hebrew portion, chapter ix, 1, where it is said that Darius had been "made king over the realm of the Chaldeans"; and once in the Aramaic, in chapter v, 30, where it is said that "Belshazzar the Chaldean king (or king of the Chaldeans) was slain." In Daniel i, 4, the Chaldeans *may* be the people, but it is more probable that the priestly class is meant.

On the monuments we find this sense, with one or two possible exceptions, only in those inscriptions which come from Assyria. The documents from the Persian, Greek, and Parthian periods never use it to denote a people; and those from the Babylonian of the time preceding Cyrus never employ it in this sense, save perhaps once. This exception is in an inscription of Nabunaid addressed to the gods Shamash and Ai of Sippar, in which he mentions the cedars (*erinu*) of Amanus and of the land of Kal-da.[1] Since we have no evidence from any other source that cedars were a product of the Chaldea south of Babylon, it is most probable that some other land with a similar name was meant by Nabunaid. It is a most remarkable circumstance that none of the documents from Babylonia, not even those of the Chaldean kings themselves, with the possible exception of this one instance just noted, ever speak of either the Chaldean land or people.

The Assyrians, however, frequently mention both the land and the people of the Kaldu, from the time of Ashurnaṣirabal (885–860 B.C), down to the time of Ashurbanipal (668–626 B.C.).

After the time of Ashurbanipal neither the land nor

[1] Zehnpfund-Langdon, NK, p. 231; Col. i, 23.

the people of the Chaldeans is mentioned till the time of Sophocles[1] and Herodotus (464–424 B. C.), the latter of whom says that the Chaldeans served among the Assyrians who went against Greece in Xerxes' army, under Otaspes, son of Artachæus.[2] The Chaldeans of whom Xenophon speaks[3] were near the Black Sea and may possibly have been the descendants of the Chaldeans of Bit-Yakin whom Sargon carried away and settled in Kummuh. The next writer to speak of the southern Chaldeans is Berosus, himself a Chaldean priest who lived in the time of Alexander the Great. In his *Chaldean History*, he speaks of a great number of people as inhabiting Chaldea, and of ten early kings of the Chaldeans who ruled before the time of Abraham, and of the Chaldean language, and of Chaldean kings beginning with Nabonasar.[4] He says further that Nebuchadnezzar exceeded in his exploits all that had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldea and that his father, Nabopolassar, was king of Babylon and of the Chaldeans.[5] Strabo, who was born about 54 B. C., says in his *Geography*[6] that there was a tribe of Chaldeans and a district of Babylonia inhabited by them near the Persian Gulf; and further, that Babylonia was bounded on the south by the Persian Gulf and the Chaldeans.[7] Again, he says that the Babylonians and the nation of the Chaldeans possessed the country at the mouth of the Euphrates.[8] Again, he speaks of a city called Gerra in a deep gulf inhabited by Chaldean fugitives from Babylon,[9] and of the marsh lands of the Chaldeans made by the overflowing of the Euphrates.[10]

[1] 468 B. C., *Fragments*, 564.
[2] Bk. VII, 63.
[3] Bk. IV, 3.
[4] See Cory. *Fragments*, pp. 21–36.
[5] Josephus; *Contra Apion.*, i, 19.
[6] Bk. XVI, 1.
[7] *Id.*
[8] *Id.*, xvi, 3.
[9] *Id.*
[10] *Id.*, xvi, 4.

Josephus, in his *Antiquities of the Jews*,[1] calls Nebuchadnezzar "king of Babylon and Chaldea," and speaks of the "kings of Chaldea."[2] Alexander Polyhistor, who lived in the second century B.C., speaks of Saracus king of the Chaldeans, and of Nabopolassar who obtained the empire of the Chaldeans.[3] Polyhistor states, also, that after the deluge, Evixius held possession of the country of the Chaldeans during the period of four *neri;* that 49 kings of the Chaldeans ruled Babylon for 458 years; that there was a king of the Chaldeans whose name was Phulus (Pul); that Sardanapalus the Chaldean reigned 21 years; and that Neglisarus reigned over the Chaldeans four years.[4]

It will be seen from the above references that the people and country of the Chaldeans are mentioned on the monuments as existing from about 850 B. C., and in the Greek historians as existing from immediately after the flood, to the time of Christ.

2. Secondly, we shall consider the use of the word "Chaldean" to denote a priestly class. In this sense the word is found in Daniel in the following places.

(a) In Hebrew, (1) in i, 4, where it is said that the king of Babylon commanded the master of his eunuchs to teach certain Jewish youths "the *language* and the tongue of the Chaldeans."

(2) In ii, 2, "the king commanded to call the magicians, and the enchanters, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, for to tell the king his dreams."

(3) In ii, 4, the Chaldeans speak to the king "in the Aramaic language."

(b) In Aramaic, (1) in ii, 5, "The king answered and said to the Chaldeans."

[1] Bk. X, chapter ix, 7.

[2] *Id.* X, chapter x, 2.

[3] Cory: *Fragments*, p. 59.

[4] *Id.*, 63.

(2) In ii, 10, "The Chaldeans answered before the king and said, There is not a man upon the earth that can show the king's matter, forasmuch as no king, lord, or ruler, hath asked such a thing of any magician, or enchanter, or Chaldean."

(3) In iii, 8, "Certain Chaldeans came near and brought accusation against the Jews."

(4) In iv, 7, Nebuchadnezzer says, "Then came in the magicians, the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers; and I told the dream before them."

(5) In v, 7, "The king [Belshazzar] cried aloud to bring in the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. The king spake and said to the wise men of Babylon," etc.

(6) In v, 11, 12, the queen says that Nebuchadnezzar had made Daniel "master of the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and soothsayers; forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and showing of dark sentences, and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same Daniel."

In the classical writers, it is used in this sense first by Herodotus, who flourished from 464 to 424 B. C.; that is, contemporaneously with the whole reign of Artaxerxes I, called Longimanus, the successor of Xerxes the son of Darius Hystaspis. It will be noted that Herodotus died about one hundred years after the death of Cambyses the son of Cyrus, and little more than a century after the death of the Daniel who is the hero and supposed author of our book. Herodotus never mentions a Chaldean people save once, and that incidentally; but he does speak at length of the Chaldean priests. His statements are as follows:

In the middle of each division of the city of Babylon, fortified buildings were erected, in one of which was the precinct of Jupiter Bel, which in my time was still in existence. In the midst of this precinct was a tower of eight emplacements and in the uppermost of these a spacious temple in which was a large couch handsomely furnished, but no statue; nor did any mortal pass the night there except only a native woman, chosen by the god out of the whole nation, as the *Chaldeans, who are priests of this deity*, say. These same priests assert, though I cannot credit what they say, that the god himself comes to this temple. There is, also, another temple below, within the precinct at Babylon; in it is a large golden statue of Jupiter erected, and near it is placed a large table of gold, the throne also and the step are of gold, which together weigh 800 talents *as the Chaldeans affirm*. Outside the temple is a golden altar and another large altar where full-grown sheep are sacrificed; for on the golden altar only sucklings may be offered. On the great altar the Chaldeans consume yearly a thousand talents of frankincense when they celebrate the festival of this god. There was also at that time within the precincts of this temple a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high. I, indeed, did not see it. I only relate what is said by the Chaldeans.

Ctesias, the Greek physician of Artaxerxes II, who wrote about 400 B. C., speaks of the Chaldeans as having hindered Darius Hystaspis from viewing the dead body of Sphendidates the Magian.[1] Aristotle, who was the tutor of Alexander the Great, mentions the Chaldean astrologers.[2]

Arrian, in his great work on *The Expedition of Alexander*, has much to say about these Chaldean priests. This Arrian was a Greek historian, a Roman general, prefect of Cappadocia under Hadrian, who reigned from 117 to 138 A.D. He was conversant with philosophy,

[1] See *Fragments* by Bähr, pp. 68 and 140. [2] See *Frag.*, 30.

being a pupil of Epictetus and publisher of his lectures. He wrote a treatise on military tactics, another on the geography of the Black Sea, and another on that of the Red Sea, and was a friend and correspondent of Pliny the Younger. He was, therefore, well fitted to write a history of the expedition of Alexander against Persia. This he has done in seven volumes which he claims in his proem to be based upon a work by Aristobulus, who marched along with Alexander; and on another work by Ptolemy Lagus, who not only marched with him, but, as Arrian says, "since he was a king, it would have been shameful for him to lie." Both, he says, wrote without expectation of any reward, since Alexander was already dead when they composed their memoirs. So Arrian pronounces them both most worthy of credence. Trained geographer, philosopher, historian, politician, general, and writer, as he was, he might well be trusted to have transcribed the essence at least of his authorities; and having proclaimed and praised the truthfulness and trustworthiness of his sources, it may be supposed that he tried himself also to be truthful. Senator, consul, and prefect of Rome, it is altogether probable that he was a capable, as well as an experienced, judge of documentary, as well as oral, testimony.

Arrian, then, says with reference to the Chaldeans, as follows:

Alexander, having hastened from Arbela, went forward straight to Babylon; and when he was not far from Babylon he led his army drawn up in battle array; and the Babylonians in a body met him with their priests and rulers bearing gifts as each one was able, and surrendering the city, and the acropolis, and the treasure. And Alexander, having come to Babylon, gave orders to build again the

temples which Xerxes had destroyed, both the altar and also the temple of Bel, who is the god whom the Babylonians deem especially worthy of honor. There indeed, also, he met the Chaldeans, and whatever seemed good to the Chaldeans with reference to religious matters in Babylon he did; both other things, and to Bel, also, he sacrificed as these directed.[1]

Later, he says that when Alexander was returning from India and was marching to Babylon,

the wise men of the Chaldeans met him and, drawing him aside from his companions, besought him to hold up his advance on Babylon; for an oracle had come to them from the god Bel that his going to Babylon at that time would not be for his good. Alexander answered them: "Who guesses well, is the best prophet." Whereupon the Chaldeans said, "Do thou, oh king! not go to the west nor come hither leading an army of occupation; but go rather to the east." (Bk. VII, 16.)

He says further that

Alexander was suspicious of the Chaldeans, because at that time they managed the affairs of Bel, and he thought that the so-called prophecy was meant for their profit rather than for his good.[2] Refusing to follow their advice but attempting to evade the consequences predicted, he nevertheless did as their prediction had implied that he would.[3]

Berosus, our next witness, informs us concerning himself, that he lived in the age of Alexander the son of Philip. He speaks of the writings of the Chaldeans[4] and of their wisdom,[5] and "of a certain man among them in the tenth generation after the deluge who was

[1] Bk. III, 16. [2] *Id.*, 17. [3] *Id.*, 21–27.
[4] Cory, *Fragments*, p. 26. [5] *Id.*, 32.

renowned for his justice and great exploits and for his skill in the celestial sciences";[1] and of their having been accurately acquainted only since the time of Nabonassar with the heavenly motions.[2] He says that the affairs of Nebuchadnezzar had been faithfully conducted by Chaldeans and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him after the death of his father and before his return from Palestine.[3]

Megasthenes, who lived and occupied important official positions under Seleucus Nicator, wrote about 300 B.C., that the Chaldeans related certain facts about Nebuchadnezzar's having been preserved by some god, so as to foretell to them the downfall of Babylon through the Medes and Persians.[4]

Abydenus, a pupil of Berosus, speaks of Pythagoras, who lived about the time of Daniel, as a "follower of the wisdom of the Chaldeans."[5]

Strabo, who flourished from 54 B.C., one of the most reliable of ancient writers, says that

> in Babylonia there was a dwelling place for the native philosophers, called Chaldeans, who are for the most part concerned with astronomy; but some also are given to casting nativities, which the others do not permit. There is also a tribe of the Chaldeans and a district of Babylonia near to the Arabs and to the Persian Sea. And there are of the Chaldean astronomers several kinds. For some are called Orchenoi, and others Borsippenoi, and there are others more, as it were, in sects, holding different dogmas concerning the same things.[6]

Diodorus Siculus, who lived in the time of Cæsar and Augustus, in his History, Book II, 9, says that

[1] *Id.*, 16. [2] *Id.* [3] *Id.*, 89.
[4] Cory: *Fragments*, 44–45. [5] Cory, 65. [6] XVI, 1.

"the Chaldeans made observations of the stars from the tower of the temple of Jupiter, whom the Babylonians call Bel." Again, he says in chapter 24, that

> Belesus, who understood how to destroy the hegemony of the Assyrians, was the most notable of the priests whom the Babylonians call Chaldeans. Having, then, the greatest experience in astrology and soothsaying, he foretold the future to the multitude just as it fell out.

In chapter 29, he says

> that it does not seem out of place for him to narrate a few words concerning those who were called in Babylon Chaldeans and their antiquity, that he may omit nothing worthy of mention. The Chaldeans, then, being the most ancient Babylonians have a position in the determination of the policy of government something like that of the priests of Egypt. For being assigned to the service of the gods they pass their whole life in philosophizing, having the greatest glory in astrology. They pay much attention, also, to soothsaying, making predictions concerning future events, and purifications, and sacrifices, and with various kinds of incantations they attempt to bring about the avoidance of evil and the accomplishment of good. And they have experience also in divination by birds and show the interpretation of dreams and omens. Not unwisely, also, do they act in matters concerning hieroscopy and are supposed accurately to hit the mark. This philosophy is handed down from father to son in a race which is freed from all other services.

Finally, Quintus Curtius Rufus, probably of the second century A.D., says that early in the expedition of Alexander "The Chaldeans had explained a singular dream of Pharnabazus to mean that the empire of the Persians would pass over to the Greeks."[1] Further

[1] See the *Life and Expedition of Alexander the Great*, III, iii, 6.

on, he says that "as Alexander was approaching Babylon, he was met by Bagophanes, the custodian of the citadel, who was followed by gifts of herds of sheep and horses; and next to these came the Magi, singing their native song according to their custom. After these, the Chaldeans and not only the seers (priests) of the Babylonians, but even the skilled workmen, advanced with the harps of their own class; the last mentioned were wont to sing the praises of the kings; the Chaldeans to manifest the movements of the stars, and the fixed changes of the seasons. Then, last of all, marched the Babylonian horsemen, with their own peculiar dress and with special horse-trappings, required more for luxury than for magnificence."[1] Further he says that

> "when Alexander, on his return from India, was 300 stadia from the city [Babylon], the seers warned him not to enter since there was a portent of danger. But he scorned their predictions as being vain and mere fabrications. Therefore when the envoys had been given audience he set sail for the land of the Arabs, laughing at the Chaldeans, who predicted danger in the city."[2]

Afterwards, when Alexander was brought dead to Babylon, it was the Babylonians who "looked down, some from the walls, others each from the roof on his own house, to see the funeral cortège pass through the streets";[3] but the Egyptians and Chaldeans were "ordered to attend the dead body in their own fashion."[4]

From the above extracts, it is evident that Quintus Curtius, whatever may have been the sources of his information as to the life of Alexander, sought to make a clear distinction between the Babylonians and the

[1] *Id.*, V, i, 4. [2] *Id.*, X, iv, 11. [3] *Id.*, X, v, 14. [4] *Id.*, X, x, 26.

Chaldeans who were in Babylon at the time of Alexander's conquest of Persia. According to him, therefore, the former were the people and the latter were the priestly class as early as 330 B.C.

Summing up, then, the testimony of the ancient classical writers who have written about Babylon, we find that they make a distinction between the Babylonian, or Chaldean, people or peoples on the one hand, and the Chaldean priests or astrologers on the other; and that this distinction is held by them to have existed from the earliest times to the time in which they respectively wrote.

II. We shall consider together the assumptions as to the origin, meaning, and use of the word Chaldean upon the Babylonian monuments.

It may justly be asked in view of all the references in the classical writers of Greece and Rome to the Chaldeans as the wise men of Babylon, if there is no evidence on the monuments to corroborate the other authorities. If there were no evidence on the monuments from Babylon, we must remember, that the case would be the same as to the Chaldeans as astrologers that it is as to the Chaldeans as a nation. But we are in better case with regard to the use of the term to denote astrologers, than we are with regard to its use to denote a nation. For we are still inclined to believe that a good argument can be made in favor of the *galdu* of the inscriptions being the same as the Chaldean priest of classical sources and of the Chaldeans of Daniel. It may be argued:

First, the *galdu* in Babylonian would according to the laws of phonetic change become *kaldu* in Assyrian, *Chaldaios* in Greek, and *kasday* in Hebrew and Aramaic. The change of *g* to *k* is found in the word *e-gal*, "great

house," "palace," or "temple," which becomes *e-kal* in Assyrian, and *hekal* in Hebrew. Compare also the Greek *kamelos*, "camel," in Assyrian, *gammalu.*[1]

The change from *l* to *s* before *d* is found in the Hebrew *Kasdim* for the Assyrian *Kaldi*, from an original Babylonian *Kaldu* or *Kasdu*. After the analogy of the change from *Kaldu* to *Kasd* the Hebrew would change *galdu* to *kasd*. *K* in Assyrian and Hebrew frequently is represented by *ch* in Greek and Latin. So that there is no reasonable ground for denying that *galdu might* be Chaldean, as far as the phonetics are concerned.

Moreover, it shows an ingenuity almost surpassing belief in a writer of the middle of the second century B. C., who derived from the Greeks the notion of what the *Chaldaioi* were, to suppose that he would deliberately change *Kaldim* to *Kasdim*. This was a law of change in Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hebrew, but not as between Greek and Hebrew, or Greek and Aramaic.[2]

The Aramaic versions and dialects outside of Daniel consistently use *Kaldi* to denote the astrologers and *Kasdi* to denote the people of Chaldea.[3] The author of Daniel, forsooth, was the only writer who confounded the distinction between them! It seems more likely that an author living in Babylon in a time when words which had a sibilant, or an *l*, before a dental were often

[1] This change of Assyrio-Babylonian *g* to Hebrew and Aramaic *k* is not so frequent as the change of *k* to *g*. The latter is found in Mukina—Mugin; Sharukin—Sargon; Tikulti—Tiglath; Mannuki—Manug; Shakan-Sagan.

[2] In words derived from the Greek which have an *l* before a dental, the New Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Aramaic of the Talmuds, never change the *l* to *s* or *sh*. See Dalman *Aram-neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, pp. 53, 188, 226, 228, 320, 321, and 364; and Brockelmann's *Lex. Syr.*, *in loc.*

[3] See dictionaries of Levy and Jastrow, *sub verbis*.

written in both ways (as *iltu, ishtu; iltanish, ishtanish*) would have written *Kasdim* for *Kaldim*, than that an author living in the second century in Palestine and deriving a word and its meaning from the Greek should have changed *ld* to *sd*, contrary to the usage of the Greek in words derived from the Aramaic languages, and of the Arameans and Hebrews in words derived from the Greek.[1]

Secondly, that old Accadian double words like *gal* and *du* were often taken over into Semitic, still preserving the double sense of the original compound words, may be abundantly shown. E. g., *e*="house," *gal*="great," *e-gal*="palace" (Hebrew, "temple," also); *e*="house," *kur*="land" or "mountain," *e-kur*="temple of the land, or mountain"; *dup*="tablet," *sar*="writer," *dupsar*="writer of tablets"; and many others.

Thirdly, that the meaning of *galdu* can be reconciled with the duties of the Chaldeans is certainly probable; at least, we can see no sufficient reason for denying on this ground that Gal-du and Chaldean are the same.

III. The last assumption, that is, that "the absence of the term from the Babylonian monuments[2] would prove that it could not have been used by the Aramean and Hebrew writers," is a most unjustifiable assertion. We could multiply analogies to show that writers in foreign languages often use terms when speaking of a given nation and its affairs, which a writer in the language of the nation spoken of would never use. For example and in point, Dr. Meinhold, in his statement of this very objection to the book of Daniel of which we

[1] *Cf.* Brockelmann's *Lex. Syr.*, pp. 17–21, 29, and Dalman's *Aram.-neuhebr. Wörterbuch.*, 29–37.

[2] That is, in monuments written in the Babylonian language.

are now speaking, uses the term "Magian" as a designation of the wise men of Babylon. Yet this word never occurs on any Babylonian monument and is never found in Babylonian at all except in the Babylonian recension of the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspis. There Darius used it correctly to describe the Magian usurper Gumatu, or Smerdis. But why should Dr. Meinhold call the Babylonian wise men by this Medo-Persian word? Simply because the term has been adopted into the German language as a designation of a class of heathen priests practicing certain arts. So, also, the Arameans and Hebrews probably used the word Chaldean to denote a certain class of wise men in Babylon, who practiced certain arts. They may have derived the term from *galdu*, "the master-builder," or from the *Kaldu*, the conquering tribe of Nabopolassar, because of certain arts practised by them. The term Chaldean to denote this class may not have been used in Babylonian at all any more than Magian was. But will anyone tell us by what term this class should have been designated by an Aramean writer of the sixth century B.C.? If we go to the Syriac for information, no term will be found that would cover such a class of star-gazers and dream interpreters and fortune tellers as the Chaldeans of Daniel probably were. No other Aramaic dialect will help us to a term. The ancient versions suggest no other equivalent designation to take its place. Pray, what term would the critics of Daniel suggest as a substitute? The ancient Hebrews, the Arameans, the Greeks and Romans, early and late, all use the word Chaldean in some form or other to denote this special class of Babylonian wise men. It is appropriate, distinctive, and general, in its meaning and use. As to its origin and antiquity no one knows for certain anything *except*

negatively. And let it be remembered that no amount of negative evidence from the *Babylonian* can ever countervail the positive evidence to be derived from the fact of the use of this term in the Aramaic of the book of Daniel.

Conclusion

The conclusion of the discussion about the use of the word "Chaldean" by the author of Daniel is that there is no evidence to show that he does not employ the term consistently and that it may not have been used in Aramaic as a designation of a class of Babylonian wise men, or priests, as early as the sixth century B.C.

Excursus on the Chaldeans

All are agreed that the sign *gal* may mean in Semitic Babylonian *rabu*, "great, chief." The sign *du* denotes the idea of "making," of "building," or "constructing," being used in Assyrian for such words as *banu*, *epešu*, *šakanu*, *zakapu*, *elu*, *emu*, *nadu*, *pataku*, and *ritu*. The compound *gal-du* might, therefore, be rendered "*rab banie* in Babylonian, *i. e.*," chief of the builders," or "constructors," and the plural would be "the chiefs of the constructors." So far all interpreters would probably agree. It differs from *dim-gal*=*banu-rabu* which means "chief builder"; just as *bitu rabu*, "great house," differs from *rab biti*, "major domo," or "master of the house."

The standard passages to determine the use of *dim-gal* are the *Nies* inscription of Sargon,[1] the *Prism* inscription of Sennacherib, Col. vi, 40–46, the building inscriptions of Esarhaddon, and the *Zikkurat* inscription of Nabopolassar, Col. ii, 14–37. The first reads:

[1] See the *Yale Oriental Series*, Babylonian Texts, i, 62.

The king says that "according to the command of the god Mur the ***dim-gal-la*** and ***ummanu*** knowing the command (or work), with bright bricks he (*i. e.*, Sargon) elevated its turrets (*i. e.*, of the temple of Eanna) and completed its work."[1]

The *Prism* inscription of Sennacherib reads:

In a favorite month, on an auspicious day, I caused to be made on this foundation in the wisdom of my heart a palace of *pilu*-stone and cedar-wood in the style of the land of the Hittites and as the seat of my lordship, by the art of skillful master-builders (*tim-kal-li-e*), a lofty palace in the style of Assyria which far surpassed the former one in size and ornamentation.

Esarhaddon mentions them twice. In the first passage, he says "The wise master-builders (*dim-gal-li*) who form the plan, I assembled and laid the foundation of Esaggil and fixed its cornerstone . . . I made its measurements according to its earlier plans."[2] In the second passage he speaks of "(the wise architects) who formed the plan."[3]

In Nabopolassar's *Zikkurat* inscription we read:

By the commission of Ea, by the advice of Marduk, by the command of Nebo and Nerba, in the great-heartedness which God my creator created within me, in my great chamber I called a council. My skilled workmen (lit. the wise sons of *ummani*) I sent out. I took a reed and with a measuring reed I measured the dimensions. The master-

[1] *Ina shipir ili Mur amel Dim-gal-la u um-me-e (i.e., ummanu)*[1] *mudie shipri ina libitti ellitim reshushu ullimi ushaklil shipirshu.*

[2] Col. iv, K. 192, Rev. lines 14-17. See Meissner-Rost, *Bauinschriften Asarhaddons*, B.A. iii, 246-247.

[3] *Id.*, K. 2711, 32.

[1] See *Brünnow's Classified List*, No. 3912.

builders (*ameluti dim-gal-e*) fixed the limits and established the boundaries. According to the advice of Shamash, Ramman, and Marduk I made decisions and in my heart I kept them. I treasured in memory the measurements. The great gods by a decision caused me to know the future days.

Before discussing these passages, we shall give two more, which do not mention the *dimgals*, but do speak of the wise *ummani* and the fortunate day and month. These are both from the time of Nabunaid. The first reads as follows:

The pinnacles of the temple [of the sun-god of Sippara] had bowed down and its walls were leaning [?]. I saw it and was much afraid and terrified. In order to lay aright the foundation, to establish the boundaries of his temple, to build a holy place and chambers suitable for his godhead, I prayed daily to him and yearly brought offerings, and sought from him my mandate (*purussia aprussu*). Shamash, the exalted lord, from of old had called me; Shamash and Ramman had laid upon me the grace of the fulfillment of my righteous mandate, of the accomplishment of my mission, and the establishment of the temple. I trusted entirely to the righteous mandate, which cannot be gainsaid, and grasped the hand of Shamash, my lord, and caused him to dwell in another house. Right and left, before and behind, I searched the holy place and the heart of the chambers. I assembled the elders of the city, the sons of Babylon, the wise mathematicians, the inmates of the house of Mummu [= the dwelling place of Ea, the god of wisdom] the guardian of the decree (*piristi*) of the great gods, establisher of the royal person [?]. I ordered them to the council and thus I spoke to them: Search for the old foundation; seek for the sanctuary of Shamash, the judge, that I may make an enduring house for Shamash and for Malkatu, my lords. With hearty prayer to Shamash, my lord, with supplications to

the great gods, all the sons of the wise men (*ummanu*) laid bare the old foundation. . . . With joy and rejoicing I laid on the old platform, I strengthened its underground supports and raised its pinnacles like a lofty peak.[1]

The second reads thus:

In the tenth year, in the days of my happy reign, in my enduring kingdom, which Shamash loves, Shamash the great lord thought on the seat [of his heart's desire], he wanted to see the top of the tower of his habitation (?) raised higher than it had been before. . . . He commanded me, Nabunaid, the king, his care-taker, to restore Ebarra to its former place, to make it as in the days of old the seat of his heart's desire. At the word of Marduk, the great lord, the winds were let loose, the floods came, swept away the débris, uncovered the foundations, and revealed their contour.

Nabunaid, having been commanded to restore the temple, says:

I raised my hands and prayed to Marduk; O Bel! chief of the gods, prince Marduk, without thee no dwelling is founded, no boundaries are prepared. Without thee, what can anyone do? Lord, at thy exalted command may I do what seemeth good to thee. To build the holy place of Shamash, Ramman, and Nergal,—even that temple I sought, and a gracious oracle for the length of my days and the building of the temple they wrote. . . . Sufficient grace for the peace of my days . . . he fixed in my commission (*tertiia*) . . . the workmen (*ummanati*) of Shamash and Marduk . . . to build Ebarra, the glorious sanctuary, the lofty chamber, I sent. A wise workman (*ummanu mudu*) sought in the place where the foundation had appeared, and recognized the insignia (*simatim*). In a favorable month,

[1] KB. iii, ii, 110–112.

[2] KB. iii, ii, 90, 91.

on a lucky day, I began to lay the bricks of Ebarra . . . according to the insignia upon (the foundation) of Hammurabi the old king. I rebuilt that temple as it had been before.[1]

From these passages it is evident that the *dimgals* made the measurements and designed the ornamentations of the palaces and temples. Arrian tells us that:

the expenses of the restoration of the temple of Bel which Alexander had ordered were to be met by the revenues of the lands and treasures which had been dedicated to that god. These treasures had been placed under the stewardship of the Chaldeans, and had formerly been used for the refitting of the temple and the sacrifices which were offered to the god.[2]

The Chaldeans, then, of the time of Alexander (whom Arrian in the same chapter carefully distinguished from the Babylonians who had been ordered to clear away the dust from the old foundations), not merely prepared the sacrifices and farmed the revenues, but directed the repairs and restorations of the temple of Bel.

These skilled workmen, the wise sons of the *ummani*, these wise *dimgals*, who fixed the limits and established the boundaries, and by whose art (*shipru*, "commission") the size and ornamentation of the temples and palaces were determined;—all acted under the commission (*shipru*) of Ea, according to the advice of Marduk and the command of Nebo. As Bezaleel and Aholiab did all things according to the pattern (*tabnith*) of the tabernacle and the pattern of the instruments "which the Lord had showed them in the mount," so, these

[1] KB. iii, ii, 90–92. See also, BA. iii, 234–237.

[2] *Exped. of Alex.*, vii, 17.

architects and artists of Nineveh and Babylon are said to have erected their buildings after the commissions, the advice, and the orders, of the gods. Just as God filled Bezaleel with wisdom and understanding and knowledge in all kinds of workmanship and gave to everyone who was wise of heart a heart of wisdom[1] to execute the work of the tabernacle; so, the *dimgals* and *ummanus* of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon and Nabopolassar and Nabunaid are said to have had wisdom and skill for their work from Ea, the god of wisdom, and Nebo the builder of cities, and Marduk the lord of all. These wise master-builders of the Babylonians, like the Bezaleels and Aholiabs of the Jews, were not building after their own patterns, but according to those that had been revealed to them by the chiefs of the builders, the Moseses, the Galdus, the Chaldeans, who had received them from their gods. The earthly temples were the copies of the houses in the skies.[2] The men who delimited the houses of the gods in the heavens; who fixed the boundaries of the temples, the earthly houses of the gods; who determined (as we shall see below) the horoscopes, the houses of the nativities, of men;—these were the astrologers, call them in your language by what special name you please. The classical writers and Daniel call them Chaldeans. The Assyrio-Babylonian *dimgal* and the Babylonian *galdu* would both be excellent names to denote this class of men, who on the heavenward side studied the will of the gods, the plans of their houses and their destinies for men, in the skies; and on their earthward side, revealed the plans of the temples and the destinies of men. The *galdus* and *dimgals* were the masters of the builders, the chiefs of the wise workmen, the master-builders, under whose di-

[1] Ex. xxxi, 1–11.

[2] Delitzsch: HWB, p. 654b.

rection the *ummanus* and *mashmashus* and *kali* worked as subordinates,—unless, indeed, these last were merely names of sub-classes of the former. The Greeks and Daniel, and the Babylonian contract tablets, would then agree in making frequent mention of the genus *galdu;* whereas, as yet, we have found on the astrological tablets the mention of the species alone. An Aramean writer, when bringing a foreign term into his native language, may well be excused for introducing the general term; for it must be remembered that no one of the specific Babylonian terms for astrologer has as yet been found in any Aramaic dialect, unless the *asheph*, or *ashshaph*, of Daniel be classed as one. Neither *mashmashu*, *kalu*, *baru*, nor *zimmeru*, has ever yet been found in Aramaic. The chiefs of the builders,—the heads of the department of astrology, would be the natural ones for Nebuchadnezzar to call to his council, just as Nabopolassar is said above to have sent out his wise workmen from the council of his great chamber. The Babylonian name for the chief of the builders is *galdu*. The writer of Daniel may rightly have called them in Aramaic *Chaldeans;* inasmuch as the name *galdu* in the sense of master-builder is found on the Babylonian tablets as early at least as the 14th year of Shamashshumukin, king of Babylon, who reigned from 668 to 648 B.C.[1]

Finally, that *banu*, the Babylonian equivalent of the Sumerian *du*, "to build," was used in a tropical sense for the construction of other than material objects is evident. For, first, it often means "beget." In this sense it is used of both gods and men, and this in innumerable cases and in all times and places.

Again, it is used of oracles and decisions of the gods.

[1] See KB. iv, 168.

Thus Nebo is called the *banu pirishti*, "the creator of decisions"[1] and Damkina the *banat shimti*, "creator of fate"[2] and "the wise king the creator of fate."[3]

These decisions which had been created (*banu*) by the gods were, doubtless, made known in the houses of decision[4] where the gods decreed the days of eternity and the fate of one's life.[5] These decisions, also, are said to have been revealed to the *baru*, or seer, who was the special guardian of the decrees of heaven and earth, to whom the gods opened up (*petu*) or spoke (*tamu*) the word of fate (*tamit pirishti*).[6] So, Ninib is the god without whom the decisions (*purussu*) of heaven and earth cannot be decided;[7] as whose mighty priest (*ishipu*) Ashurnaṣirpal was called by Ninib himself,[8] whose father had been a priest (*shangu*) of Ashur. The decrees of fate (*shimati*) by which his fate (*shimtu*) was righteously decided, had come out of the mouth of the great gods.[9]

In view of the above statements about the decisions of the gods which directed the life of men, the question is natural to ask, how did the gods reveal their will? And the answer is, through the inspection of livers and cups, by dreams and visions, and by many other ways; but especially by the phenomena connected with the starry heavens. In the religious belief of the Babylonians, as Delitzsch and Winckler and Jeremias have clearly shown, the events of earth were directed by the gods whose seats were in the stars; and the things of

[1] Del., HWB, p. 543b.
[2] Muss-Arnolt 175a.
[3] *Sharru nemeḳi banu tashimti*, King: *Bab. Magic*, No. 413.
[4] *Bit pirishti* or *parak shimati* or *ashar shimati*, which Delitzsch calls the earthly copy of the heavenly *Upshukinnaku*.
[5] Nbk. Inscription, xv, Col. ii, 54–64. Langdon, p. 123.
[6] See Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 89.
[7] *Ashurnaṣirpal*, i, 3.
[8] *Id.*, 21
[9] *Id.*, 36, 37.

earth were but the copies of the things in heaven. It was there, above, that was built by them the house of our fate. The movements of the stars, the eclipses of sun and moon, the appearances of clouds, the bursting of storms and thunder—such were some of the ways by which the gods declared their decisions which had been made, or built (*banu*), in the heavenly counsel-chambers. As the gods had built in heaven, the astrologers built on earth. Nebo, the spokesman and interpreter of the gods of heaven and earth, was the heavenly builder (*banu purishti*) and his earthly representative (the *banu*, or *gal-du*) constructed what he had revealed to them through star and cloud and storm and earthquake, and made it known to men.[1] The temple of the god on earth was built after the fashion of his house in heaven, and was oriented and constructed with the intention that the former house as well as the latter might be the means of revealing the will of the god. The chief of all the builders was he who showed men where and how to construct their buildings and their lives, the plans for which were mysteries (*pirishtu*) opened up (*petu*) for them to read in the prototypes and figures of heaven.

But, it will be said, why then do we not find this name, or these signs, employed in the astrological reports expressly and clearly to denote the astrologers?

No completely satisfactory answer can be given to this question. It can, however, be paralleled by some questions which are equally hard to answer. For

[1] "Weltenbild und Himmelsbild sind eins. Der Priester der zu den Astralgottheiten flehte, eignete sich eine genaue Kenntniss des gestirnten Himmels an; die Bewegungen der Himmelskörper und ihre Stellungen zu einander musste er erforschen, um den Willen der Gottheiten zu erkennen." (See Weidner: *Handbuch de- babylonischen Astronomie*, Einleitung: Leipzig, 1915.)

example, why is it that the *gal-du* is not mentioned on any of the building inscriptions? Why is it that he is never mentioned anywhere as concerned even in any building operations or transactions? Why is it that the signs occur so often on the business tablets from Babylon, but in those from Assyria scarcely ever, if at all? Why is the name *Kal-du* used by the Assyrians to denote the Chaldean people and country and by the Babylonians not at all? Why is the land, or people, or even a single man, never expressly called Chaldean on the monuments of Babylon? On the contract tablets we have a large number of patronymics, such as Accadian, Aramean, Arabian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Hittite, Persian, and Egyptian.[1] Why not Chaldean? In Assyrian, we find *Kal-du* used for individuals, the country, and the people.[2]

Why do the Babylonians use the signs *dup-sar* to denote the scribe, and the Assyrians almost always *a-ba?* Why is *banu* the common word for builder on the contract tablets and in the Code of Hammurabi, but *ummanu* in the building inscriptions? Why does *dim-gal* denote builder on the building inscriptions (three or four times in all) and yet never occur on the contract tablets? Why were the astrological reports signed and prepared by the *azu*, and the *us-ku* and the *mashmashu* and the *aba* and the *dupsar* and the *rab aba* and the *rab dupsar* and the *rab ashipi* and the *mar Borsippi* and the *mar Urukai* and others? And may not all of these have been sub-classes of the *gal-du*, or Chaldean?

[1] Tallquist, NB. xxviii.

[2] For example, *Shuzubu amilu Kal-da-ai*—Shuzub the Chaldean. See Sennacherib *Prism Inscription*, Col. iii, 42, v, 8.

Mat Kaldi "land of Chaldea" (*id.*, i, 34).

Amelu Kal-du sha kirib Uruk "the Chaldeans who were in the midst of Uruk" (*id.*, i, 37).

Here is a fine list of questions all calling for an answer and as yet unanswerable. When we can answer them we may be able to answer the one about *gal-du* (=*rab banie*) and *dim* (=*banu*). Until then, let us all be willing to acknowledge that our ignorance as to the sign and meaning of a term, or as to the time when it was first used, proves nothing.

Finally, in view of the fact that the kindred peoples of Assyria and Babylonia use different signs and names to denote the same thing, why may not the Greeks and Arameans and Hebrews, also, have done the same? If we could prove that neither Assyrian, nor Babylonian, denoted the astrologer by the term Chaldean, how would this prove that others did not? Different nations, different customs. Different languages, different names.

Besides, it is to be noted in its bearing upon the Babylonian origin of the Aramaic of Daniel that the other names employed to denote the wise men whom Nebuchadnezzar called up before him are not as a whole found in any Aramaic dialect except that of Daniel, and some of them nowhere else but in Daniel. The word *Chartom* used in Hebrew first in the accounts of Joseph and Moses to denote the Egyptian soothsayer, is generally supposed to be an Egyptian word. It means possibly "sacred scribe," or "chief of the enchanters," or "spellbinder." If this be the true meaning, it corresponds very closely to the Babylonian *dupsar*, "tablet-writer," or "scribe," or to the Babylonian *baru*, "seer." *Chartom* is not found in Syriac; nor is it in common use in any Aramaic dialect, being used merely in versions and commentaries, or in references to the original Hebrew and Aramaic passages which contain it.

The second class mentioned in Daniel ii, 10, the *ash-*

shaph, is never found in any Aramaic dialect, except Syriac, and there but seldom.

The fourth class of Daniel ii, 27, the *gazerin*, is not called by this name in any other Aramaic dialect. In meaning, it would correspond to the Babylonian *mushim shimti*, "decider of fate."

The other class mentioned frequently in Daniel, that of the wise men (*ḥakkimin*), may be taken as a general term, or it may correspond to the *mudu*, or *imgu*, of the Babylonians, both words of frequent occurrence on the Assyrio-Babylonian monuments.

In the Hebrew portion of Daniel, *kasdim*, *chartom*, and *'ashshaf* are used to denote classes of wise men; and in addition, the term *mekashshefim* is found in Daniel ii, 2, where Nebuchadnezzar is said to have called the last named, among others, to make known and to interpret his dream. The root of this last word and several of its derivatives are found frequently in Assyrio-Babylonian as technical terms for witchcraft, one of its derivatives meaning "poison" or "philter." In Syriac, the only Aramaic dialect where the root is employed, it is used in a good sense, of prayer and supplication. It will be noted that Daniel is not said to have had anything to do with the *mekashshefim*, a wizard being expressly forbidden by the law of Deut. xviii, 10, and especially by the law of Ex. xxii, 17.

That a word having a purely physical signification should pass on to a second sense having a moral or religious meaning, is supported by the analogy of all languages. Such English words as deacon, minister, and baptize, illustrate this change of signification. The Semitic languages, also, are rich in this kind of words with transferred or developed meanings. We need not go outside the words relating to astrology and magic

to find them. For example, *beth*, "house," becomes the division of the zodiac where a certain god is supposed to dwell; as, the house of Jupiter, etc. This use is found in Arabic,[1] and in Syriac.[2]

So the Babylonian *epeshu*, "to bewitch," is probably connected with *epeshu*, "to do"; then, "to be wise." So the Arabic *sana'a* and *bana*, "to make"; then, "to educate." So, also, the Babylonian *ummanu*, "workman"; then, a kind of priest. According to Behrens,[3] *ummanu* is a synonym of *mashmashu*, a kind of priest.[4]

This connection between "work" and sorcery may be seen perhaps also in *ḥarrash*, which in Hebrew means "workman" and in Aramaic "sorcerer."

From the word for "builder" the Aramaic and New Hebrew derive the sense "builder of doctrine" (*Gelehrter*).

Another point in favor of the gal-du's being closely allied to the scribes and priests, is to be found in the fact that so often in its occurrence on the contract tablets after the name of a witness it is met with in the immediate vicinity of the name and title of *shangu*, "priest," and *dupsar*, "scribe."[5]

The *banu*, or builder, is seldom found in this position, but the *gal-du*, or chief of the builders, frequently.

Further, there is evidence on the contract tablets

[1] See Otto Loth in Fleischer's *Festschrift*, for 1875.

[2] See Bardisan on *The Laws of the Nations*, in the *Spicilegium Syriacum*.

[3] *Ass.-Bab. Briefe Kult. Inhalts*, p. 10.

[4] He cites in favor of this view as follows: *Apliya am. ummanu sha Ishtar sha Arbail* (Harper: *Assyrian Letters*, v, 533, 2 ff.), "*Apliya* the *umman* of Ishtar of Arbail"; and (*id.*, v, 447, R 11) *annuti IX sha itti ummani izzazum dullu sha bit am. marṣi ippashuni*, "These nine are those who assist the *umman* to perform the rites for the house of the sick"; and (*id.*, ii, 167, R 16) "1 Qa meal 1 Qa Wine for the *ummanu*."

[5] *E. g.* Cambyses, viii, 11, 12, xvi, 16; Darius, lxxxii, 14, cccl, 15;

that the *galdus* stood to the *shangus* (*i. e.*, priests) in a blood relationship differing from that in which the *shangus* stood to the *banus* or ordinary builders.[1]

Now, Zimmern holds that the Babylonian priests formed a close corporation which transplanted itself from father to son. He bases this view (1) on a statement of Diodorus Siculus (ii, 29) that the knowledge of the Chaldeans was transmitted from father to son; (2) on the fact that the seers and other priests are frequently called "sons of seers," etc.; and (3) upon the strong emphasis placed in the ritual tablets upon the continuity of the priesthood and of its most holy traditions. The passage from Diodorus reads as follows: "Among the Chaldeans, philosophy is handed down in families (*ek genous*), a son receiving from his father, and being freed from all other public services."

Examples under (2) are found on the Ritual Tablets i, 1, 7, 38 *et al.* Under (3), Professor Zimmern shows[2] that the *baru* had to be of priestly blood and education and that it may be assumed that this was true of all the priests. Thus in the Ritual Tablets No. 24, we read:

The cunning wise man who guards the secret of the great gods causes his son whom he loves to swear on the tablet and before Shamash and Hadad, causes him to learn "When the sons of the seers" [that is, the tablets beginning with this phrase]. The *abkal* of the oil, of long genealogy, a scion of Enme-dur-an-ki, king of Sippar, establisher of the holy cup [and] elevator of the cedar [staff] a creature of Nin-har-sag-ga of priestly blood, of noble descent, perfect in

[1] For example, Gimillu-Gula the priest (*shangu*) is called the son of Shumukin the *galdu* (Nebuch., 335, 13); so, also, the priest Tabik-ziru is the son of a *galdu* (*id.*, 22, 12; *cf* 179, 327, 72, and 196); so, also, in Cambyses, 72, 14, 15, and 284, a priest (*shangu*) is called a grandson of a *galdu*.

[2] *Ritualtafeln*, pp. 87–91.

stature and in growth, shall approach before Shamash and Hadad in the place of vision and decision.[1]

If then, Zimmern and Diodorus Siculus are right in stating that the Babylonian priests held their office by family inheritance (and we know certainly that the Hebrew and Egyptian priests did thus inherit their official rights), it is obvious that since *shangus* could be and were sons, or grandsons, of *galdus*, both must have been of the priestly race. It is well to call special attention to the fact that Diodorus calls these priests the Chaldeans. If, as we have argued above, *galdu* is the same as "Chaldean," the *galdu* might well be the general term; that is, all the *shangus* would be *galdus*, but *galdus* would not all be *shangus*,—just as all the Jewish priests were Levites, but the Levites were not all priests.

Further, we find no example of anyone who was called both a *banu*, and a *gal-du*. Nor among the hundreds of names mentioned in Tallquist's *Book of Names* (*Namenbuch*) is anyone at one time called a *galdu* and at another time a *banu*.[2]

Whether the *baru*, the *ashipu*, the *zimmeru*, and others performing priestly functions were also *galdus*, or in what relation any of these stood to either the *shangus*, or the *galdus*, the records give us no information.[3] No man whose name is given in the Tallquist tablets, is called either *baru*, *ashipu*, *zimmeru*, or *mashmashu;* while *shangu* and *galdu* each occur hundreds of times. If the sign *rid* in the inscriptions from the reign of

[1] See also Dhorme, *Textes Rèligieux Assyro-babyloniens*, p. 142.

[2] Of course this is merely negative evidence. A *shangu* however, might be the son of a *banu*, as in the inscription of Evil-Merodach published by Evetts (*Bab. Texte*, vii, B. No. 19).

[3] But see Addendum to Excursus, p. 365.

Sin-shar-ishkun, king of Assyria, published by Evetts in his *Babylon. Texte*, p. 90, be read *nappahu*, then a priest in Assyria might be a son of a smith. But if we read the sign *ummanu*, it may mean an *ummanu* priest.[1]

As to the relation in which the *dupsar*, or scribe, stood to the *galdu*, we are not prepared to make any positive statements. It is clear that a *galdu* might have a son who was a scribe.[2]

Lastly, if the *galdus* were priests we can account reasonably for such texts as that found in Peek's collection, number 4, which Pinches translates: "The fruit due, again applied for, in the district of Sippar, from the Chaldeans."[3] These *galdus* can scarcely have been a community of architects, but may well have been a fellowship of priests; since, as Dr. Peiser says in his *Sketch of Babylonian Society*,[4] certain portions of the land were given over into the possession of the temples, so that the support of the temples and priests to be derived from the income of the land might not be interfered with. The view of Dr. Peiser derived from the monuments is supported by the testimony of Arrian in his *Expedition of Alexander*,[5] where he says that

> The Chaldeans did not wish Alexander to come to Babylon lest he should take away from them the income derived

[1] For this use of *ummanu* see Behren's *Ass. Bab. Brief*, p. 10, and Frank's *Studien zur Babylonischen Religion*, p. 17.

[2] For example, Peiser's *Babylonian Contracts* (*Bab. Verträge*) Nos. 5, 7, 16, 28, 45, 50, 51, 55, 61, 64, 70, 80, 83, 100, 101, 110, 114, 115, and 140. But a scribe might be descended also from a herdsman (Peiser, *Verträge* iii, 22); from a smith (*id.* 8); from a *ba'iru* (a fisher, constable, or press-gang officer, *id.*, 17, 22, 23, 65); or from a physician (*a-su*, *id.*, 76); or even from an Egyptian (*id.*, 94).

[3] *Gal-du-mes* pl. *Cf.* VASD. vi, 20, 22.

[4] *Skizze der Bab. Gesellschaft*, p. 16.

[5] Bk. 7, ch. 17.

from the possessions of the temple of Bel (to which much land and much gold had been dedicated by the Assyrian kings), that he might with it reconstruct the Temple of Bel which had been destroyed by Xerxes.

As we indicated above, we shall now proceed to discuss more fully the question as to what these constructors built. The obvious answer would be, houses, of course. But what kind of houses? Or, what were the duties of the "chief of the builders" in their relation to houses? It will, perhaps, not be known to all my readers that among astrologers the word "house" was used to denote the parts of the heavens. There was the house of Mars, and the house of Jupiter, and the house of the Sun, etc. An astrologer who constructed horoscopes may very well have been called a builder, or the chief of the builders. Unfortunately, the astrological and magical texts so far published in Assyrio-Babylonian give us no horoscopes in the narrower sense of nativities; but the Arabic, Syriac, and the Aramaic of Onkelos, all use the phrase "house of nativity, or birth" to denote a child's horoscope.[1] A better word than "builder" for the one who constructed this house cannot be suggested. Unfortunately, again, the Assyrio-Babylonian texts so far published give us no certain word for astrologer. *Baru*, "seer," may have included the duties of astrologer or star-gazer but his functions were certainly much wider, as Zimmern has clearly shown.[2] The *dupsar*, or scribe, was specifically the writer of a tablet, though he may, of course, have been an astrologer also. The signs *A-BA*, which in Assyrian denote the scribe, might denote the astrol-

[1] See Gen. xl, 20, in Syriac and Aramaic.

[2] *Ritualtafeln*, pp. 82–91.

oger, also; but no one is sure as yet how to read these signs in Assyrian, nor what they mean exactly. *Galdu*, because of its meaning as well as because of its being the phonetic equivalent of *Chaldaios*, may well have been the name for astrologer among the Babylonians. That the word should be spelled in its Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek forms, in the same way as *kaldu*, the name of the nation, does not prove an identity of origin. The English word "host" has three distinct meanings, one derived from the Latin *hostia*, "sacrifice," one from the Latin *hostis*, "enemy," and one from the Latin *hospes*, "entertainer." Many words in all languages are homonymous and homophonous, without being homogenous, or homologous.

Moreover, the duties of astrologers were not confined to making horoscopes of nativities. It is clear from the monuments that someone was called upon to orient and lay out the temples and palaces, perhaps all houses, before they were constructed. The plans of the temples, at least, may well have been drawn up by someone connected with the worship of the god in whose honor the temple was to be built. As each god had his particular ceremonies and a distinctive temple for his proper worship, we can readily perceive how the records speak of a *galdu* of the god Shamash[1] and of a *galdu* of the god Marduk.[2]

As the streets, walls, embankments, and public buildings needed to be oriented and constructed, we can understand how, also, there could be a *galdu* of the city of Babylon.[3]

Moreover, since buildings could be commenced only on a lucky day and in a lucky month, it may well have

[1] Strassmaier: *Insc. of Nabunaid*, 351,1, VASD. vi, 22, 2.

[2] Strass.: *Insc. of Darius*, 457,12.

[3] *Id.* 348, 19.

been the duty of the chief of the builders to determine when the day had arrived on which it would be fortunate to begin operations. Again and again the kings reiterate that a building was begun on a lucky day. Who better than the astrologer could determine this? And since building could not be commenced without his permission, he might for this reason, also, be called *galdu*—chief of the builders.

Again, Schrank says that the *mashmashu* and *kalu* seem to have taken part in the festive initiation of new buildings, canals, etc. Thus Sennacherib sends a *mashmashu* and a *kalu* to open a canal and[1] a *kalu* takes part in the rebuilding of temples.[2]

Further, it is frequently said that ceremonies took place at the initiation of repairs, or the laying of the foundation, or at the commencement of the removal of the débris from the ruins of an old temple, or at the dedication of a new, or renewed, building. For example, at the laying of the foundation of the temple of Sin in Harran, Nabunaid says that he did it with incantations and with the commission of the god Libittu, the lord of foundations and bricks, on the fortunate day and in the favorable month which Shamash and Ramman had made known to him in a vision; and that he poured out on its walls palm-wine, wine, oil, and honey.[3]

Again, further on in the same inscription Nabunaid says that he laid the bricks of the temple of the Sun at Sippar upon the foundation of Naram-Sin which Shamash had made known to him in a vision (*biri*), with joy and rejoicing, in a favorable month on a fortunate day,

[1] Meissner and Rost, *Die Bauinschiften Sanheribs* 27.

[2] See *Bab. Sühnriten*, pp. 12, 13.

[3] KB. iii, ii, 100.

anointing with oil the written name of Naram-Sin and offering sacrifices.[1] Further on, he speaks of having sanctified it and made it fit to be a temple of his godhead.[2]

It will be noticed, also, that no step is taken by any king, at least in regard to building, without some intimation of the will of the gods.[3]

Some of the names by which the mediums or interpreters of these communications from the gods were called are *baru*, "seer";[4] *mahhu*, "priest";[5] *shabru*, "interpreter" (?);[6] *ashipu*, "enchanter";[7] *kalu* or *mashmashu*.[8]

No building operations seem to have been commenced without a sign from the gods through one of these methods of communication. These priests and seers, and others of like import, could cause or prevent any building enterprises. They were the real masters of the building trades unions, the "bosses of the jobs." They could declare a strike or assumption of operations. Taking them all together, no better term could

[1] *Id.*, 104.

[2] *Id.*, 108.

[3] This intimation comes by a word or command (*amatu*, KB. iii, ii. 78, 98, 126; *kibit*, KB. iii, i, 252, 254, 256, and very often everywhere; *sikru*, KB. iii, ii, 264; *temu*, iii, ii, 124), by a dream or vision (*shuttu*, iii, ii, 98; *igiltu*, iii, i, 252; *biru*, iii, ii, 101, 104; *shiru*, iii, ii, 84), or by a decision or judgment (*parussu*, KB. iii, ii, 110; *shimatu*, iii, ii, 70, 72; *dinu*, KB. ii, 236; or *teru*, iii, ii, 110, 118. *Reports of Mag. and Astrol.*, 186 R. 9, 187 R. 3), or by a commission or sign however given (*shibir ashiputim*, Langdon, p. i, 146, 148. Compare *shipir ish-ship-pu-ti*, "the commission of the *ish-ship* priest," Ashurbanipal, *Rassam Cyl.*, iv, 86; *shipir Ish-tar* or *Ishtarate*, "the commission of Ishtar" or "of the Ishtar priestesses," KB. ii, 252; *shipir mahhie*, "the commission of the *mahhu* priests," *id.*; *idatu*, "signs," KB. ii, 252, and Del., HWB., 304).

[4] See Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, 86–91.

[5] KB. ii, 252.

[6] KB. ii, 250.

[7] KB. 192; Frank, *Studien sur bab. Religion*, p. 23.

[8] Schrank, *Bab. Sühnriten*, 12.

be suggested by which to name them than *galdu, rab banie*, "the chiefs of the builders."[1]

Again, *bânu* is used in series of synonymous expressions to denote the men who were connected with the oracles of the gods, with astrology, with building, and with the wise men in general. In so far as any of these wise men had to do with the construction of the houses of the gods;[2] or with the horoscope, or house of one's nativity; or with the building of temples; or with the building of "fates," or even of thoughts,—they might each be called a *banu*, or builder. Their chiefs might well have been called *gal-du* = *rab banie*, "chiefs of the builders." Inasmuch as this kind of building was their highest function, we can easily understand how

[1] A syllabary published on the *Cuneiform Texts from Bab. Tablets*, etc., in the British Museum, part xviii, plate 13, supports this view just stated. In the syllabary we find *banu* given as a synonym of *baru*, "seer"; *baru* as a synonym of *a-su*, "physician," and *mu-de-e ter-te*, "knower of oracles," "*Orakelkündiger*" (Zimmern, *R. T.*, 87); and these immediately followed by *dup-sar-ru*, "scribe," *en-ku*, "wise man," and *mu-du-u*, "learned, kenner." The Sumerian *a-su*, as is well known, denotes in Assyrian, *asu*, "physician," *dupsar*, "scribe," and *baru*, "seer" (Zimmern, *R. T.*, 86); but *gi-hal* = *banu piristi* (the *gi* denoting *piristu* = *shimtu*, Br. 2402, 2410), a phrase used to describe Nebo, "the builder of fate." Compare what Ashurbanipal says in the *Rassam Cylinder* (x, 70, 71): "On my bed at night my dreams are favorable and on that of the morning my thoughts are created"; where *banu* is permansive, as *damka* is in the preceding clause (Vd. Del., Gr., sec. 89B). So *A-ZU* = *asu*, or *baru*. With the sign for god before them, the signs *ni-zu* = Nebo. Again, *me-zu* = *baru* or *mude terti* (Br. 10384, 10385).

Lastly, the signs *nun-me-tag* = *enku, eppishu, hassu, mudu, bel terte, abkallum*, and *mar ummani*, and these all are probably synonyms of *baru* (Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, 86).

[2] This house of the gods is the same as the *bait* of *Al Kindi* (edited by Otto Loth for the *Festschrift* of Prof. Dr. H. L. Fleischer), and the *bet* of Bardesan's *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (published by Cureton in the *Spicilegium Syriacum*), the *oikos* or *doma* of Manetho's *Apotelesmatica*, and Maximus' *Anecdota Astrologica*, and the "house" of our own astrologers.

the foreign Greeks and Hebrews and Arameans may have adopted the phrase used to denote the highest officials of the cult, or profession, as a general term including all the sub-classes subsumed under it. We can understand, also, why the Babylonian contract tablets name so many *galdus* and almost entirely fail to mention the other classes named above, except the scribes, or *dupsarri*. The *shangu* ("priest"), the *dupsar*, and the *galdu*, the three titles met with so often on the tablets, will thus represent the learned classes, who transacted the business of the community both sacred and profane. And where visions and dreams are concerned, as is the case in Daniel, the *galdu* would be the man for the work.

Before closing the discussion of the meaning of the word Chaldean, it may be well to call attention to two remarkable facts to be gleaned from the astrological and contract tablets. The first is that the signs *gal* and *du*, which are found so often on the contract tablets of Babylonia, are scarcely, if ever, found on any documents from Assyria.[1] Babylonia was the country of the *galdu* according to the cuneiform documents; and

[1] The signs *A.BA.* of the Assyrian tablets are commonly employed where the Babylonian use *dupsar*, "scribe." See tablets in KB. iv, pp. 100, 108, 110 *bis*, 112, 114 *bis*, 116 *bis*, *et al.* The *rab a-ba* of Nos. 74, 109, 266, of Thompson's *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon* would be the chief of the scribes, the same as the *rab dup-sar* of Nos. 81, 259.

The *A.ZU* of No. 58 may also be read as *dup-sar*, "scribe" (see Brünnow, 11377 and 11379). The *rab asu* of No. 59 might then be "the chief of the scribes." The only names left in Thompson's tablets that might come under the class of the Chaldean priests are the *mashmashu* on Nos. 24, 83, 183, 243, and *kalu* on 134 (*kal-li-e* on No. 256. *Cf. rab kal-li-e*, K. 316, KB. iv, 114) and possibly the *hal* of 18, 186, and 187, all of which, as we have seen above, may have been subdivisions of the *gal-dus*.

it was the region of the Chaldean priests according to Daniel, Herodotus, Ctesius, Berosus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Arrian.

The other fact is the noteworthy agreement of Strabo and the Assyrian astrological reports with regard to the localities where the different classes of astrologers resided. Strabo says (Bk. XVI, 1) that there were many kinds of Chaldean astrologers, such as Orchenoi, Borsippenoi, and many others. Now, many of Thompson's *Astrological Reports* are by men who are called sons of Borsippa or sons of Uruk (*i. e.*, Orchenoi); and an *ummanu* of Borsippa is mentioned in Thompson's *Late Babylonian Letters*, i, obv. 6. The reports and letters were written in the 7th century B. C. During all this time the astrologers of Borsippa and Uruk held their place of preëminence as astrologers; and Strabo calls them both Chaldeans.

If, therefore, anyone object to deriving "Chaldean" from *gal-du*, chief of the builders," he may still hold that the name as used for priests was derived from the name as used for a people. For the name *Kaldu*, or Chaldean, for the people and country and individuals of Chaldea, is found from the time of Shalmanezer III, 850 B. C. to the time of Arrian and Quintus Curtius. During any part of this time, therefore, if we derive the name Chaldean as applied to the Chaldean priests from the name of the Chaldean people, these priests may have been found in Babylon exercising the functions of astrologers and have been called Chaldeans after the ruling people, just as other astrologers were found in Borsippa and Uruk, and named after the cities where they dwelt and performed their duties. That is, if the astrologers of Borsippa could be called Borsippenes, the astrologers of Chaldea may have been rightly

called Chaldeans; the one from the city, the other from the country, or nation, to which they respectively belonged. The sub-classes are mentioned by Strabo as well as the general term; Daniel mentions the general term alone.[1]

In conclusion, let it be remembered that the astrological reports thus far published, which give the names of the writers, are almost all Assyrian; and that the astrological reports of Strassmaier, Epping, and Kugler do not give the native names for the astronomers who drew them up, nor even the signs used to denote those names. But even if they did give many signs, or names, to denote astrologers, it would not prove that Daniel was wrong in using Chaldean to denote them. For first, Daniel was writing in Aramaic and not in Babylonian; and secondly, the subscriptions of the writers of the *Astrological Reports* with half a dozen or more groups of signs and at least a dozen different ways of describing them, to denote the writers of the reports should warn us not to be too certain that *gal-du* may not also have been properly used to denote them.

In concluding this long discussion of the origin, meaning, and use of the word Chaldean to denote a priestly class, let us sum up by saying that we think we have shown that it is not certain that the word does not occur upon the Babylonian monuments inasmuch as it probably is the same as the word *gal-du* which is frequently found on them; that, secondly, if Chaldean be not the Aramaic and Hebrew form of *gal-du*, it may have been the same in origin, though different in meaning, as

[1] The use by the Arameans of the patronymic Kaldu or Kasdu to denote a priestly class or function may be compared with *medizein* in Greek to denote Greeks who favored the Medes and with "to jew down" in English.

the Assyrian *Kal-du*, which was employed to denote the tribe living south of Babylon whose kings ruled over Babylon in the time of Daniel, inasmuch as priestly functions were often delegated to a tribe, or class, as has been the case among the Jews, the Egyptians, the Medes, and the people of Lystra; and thirdly, that even if the word were absent from the Babylonian monuments as a designation of the astrologers, or priests, it would not prove that such a class with such a name did not exist, any more than the absence of the name as a designation of the tribe, or people, of the Chaldeans proves that such a people did not exist.

ADDENDUM TO EXCURSUS

Since writing the above the most important evidence to show that the *banu* and *gal-du* were included in the sodality of the priests and seers has appeared in the Yale cylinder of Nabunaid.[1] At the dedication of his daughter, Bel-shalti-Nannar, to Sin and Nikkal for the service of divination (*ina shibir ashipitim*) in the temple of Egipar, he says that he endowed the temple richly with fields, gardens, servants, herds, and flocks; and that "in order that the priesthood of Egishshirgal and the houses of the gods might not incur sin, he remitted the taxes, established the income, and purified and sanctified to Sin and Nikkal the chief priest,[2] the inspector of property,[3] the seer, the

[1] Published in the *Yale Oriental Series*, Babylonian Texts, vol. i, pp. 66–75. New Haven, 1915.

[2] See Frank, *Studien zur babylonischen Religion*, p. 5. For *ramkut* in the sense of priesthood and *kinishtum* in the sense of sodality, see the same, p. 60. For the latter, compare also *kenishta d'beth Y'huda* in the haggada to Psalm xxxviii, 12. (See Lewy's *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, i, 373.)

[3] See *Brünnow's Classified List*, 7820 and 10695.

engiṣu, the imprecator, the *gal-du*, the *banu*, the *dullaḥḥa*, the overseer of the *gallum*, the custodian, the *lagaru*, the maker of supplications, the singers who rejoice the hearts of the gods,—the solidarity of those whose names are named."[1]

From this passage it is manifest that the *gal-du* and *banu* are said to be in the sodality, or assembly, of the *ramku*-priests. Their names are placed after those of the *enu-ishibi*, the *baru*, and the *ariru*, and before those of the *lagaru*, and the *zammeru*. They are said, also, to have been named with names, that is, to have been dedicated to the service of the gods with the giving of a new name, just as in the same inscription the daughter of Nabunaid received a new name at her dedication.[2]

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[1] 24 Ash-shum: 25 ra-am-ku-ut E-gish-shir-gal u batati ilani
26 e-nu i-shib-bi shabru ṣibṭi am. baru am. EN-GI-ṢU
27 am. a-ri-ru am. gal-du am. banu am. DUL-LAḤ-ḤA itu gal-lum
28 am. ti-ir-bit am. la-ga-ru sha-ki-in tak-ri-ib-ti
29 am. zammare mu-ḥad-du-u lib-bi ilani
30 am. ki-ni-ish-tum sha na-bu-u shu-ma-an-shu-un
31 i-li-ik-shu-nu ap-tu-ur-ma shu-bar-ra-shu-nu ash-ku-un
32 ub-bi-ib-shu-nu-ti-ma
33 a-na ili Sin u ili Nin-gal bele-e-a u-zak-ki-shu-nu-ti

[2] On column i, lines 24–25, Nabunaid says: I dedicated my daughter to the *entu*-office. I called her name Bel-shalti-Nannar.

CHAPTER XVIII

DANIEL AND THE WISE MEN

WHEN Paul was at Philippi, he was accused of teaching customs which it was not lawful for the Philippians to observe, being Romans. Without a trial and uncondemned, he was beaten and imprisoned and put in the stocks. This illustrates the manner in which the critics accuse Daniel of becoming a Babylonian wise man, of observing customs which it was not lawful for him to observe, "being a strict Jew." They do not prove that the customs of the wise men were not lawful for a strict Jew to observe. To do this they should first show what a strict Jew might legally have been; and secondly, what there was in the customs and beliefs of a wise man of Babylon that made it impossible for Daniel to have been at the same time a strict Jew and a Babylonian wise man. This they have failed to show. They simply assert it, just as the Philippians asserted that Paul troubled their city by teaching unlawful customs.

Again, as we shall see, they have failed to show how it would have been impossible for a Jewish writer of the second century B.C.,—the time of the Maccabees and of the Assideans,—to have written a work whose hero would have been represented as being both a strict Jew and a Babylonian wise man, if there had been an in-

consistency in a man's being at the same time both of them. They have failed even to consider how a strict Jew, writing a book of fiction for the consolation of strict Jews, to be accepted by strict Jews as a genuine history, could have said that a strict Jew was a Babylonian wise man, if there was anything unlawful or improper in a strict Jew's being a Babylonian wise man. Certainly a strict Jew of the middle of the second century B.C. was as strict as one of the middle of the sixth. Certainly, also, a Chaldean wise man of the second century B.C., was as bad as one of the sixth. Certainly, also, as we shall see, a wise man was at both times and at all times the subject of unstinted, unqualified, and invariable praise on the part of Jew and Babylonian and Greek. Certainly, last of all, if the critics were right in placing the completion of the law in post-exilic times, a strict Jew of the second century B.C. would be much stricter than he would have been in the sixth century B.C., before the law had been completed. For surely a strict Jew of the sixth century B.C. cannot be blamed by the critics for not observing a law that according to these same critics was not promulgated till the fifth or fourth century B.C. A writer living in Palestine in the second century B.C., composing a book with the intent of encouraging the Assidean party and the observance of the law, would scarcely make his hero live a life inconsistent with this very law which it was his purpose to magnify; whereas a Jew living at Babylon in the sixth century B.C., where the law could not be strictly observed, might have been excused even if he had transgressed the injunctions which it was impossible for him to observe. This is an *ad hominem* argument which is gladly left to the consideration of those who affirm that a strict Jew of the

sixth century B.C., could not have been a Babylonian wise man, while one of the second might have been!

When Jesus was brought up before the High Priest two witnesses testified that he had said, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up." The evangelist admits that he had used these words but says that he had meant by them his own body and not the temple at Jerusalem. The witnesses, therefore, were false, not because they did not report correctly the words that had been said, but because they gave to them a sense different from that which had been intended and understood. So, as I shall proceed to show, the author of Daniel represents the prophet as having been a wise man indeed; but his wise man was one whose manner of life was in entire harmony with the teachings of the law and of the prophets, whereas the wise man of the critics is the baseless fabric of their own imagination. But let us to the proof.

Objections Stated

A writer who makes a pious Jew and one true to the law to have been admitted into the society of the Chaldean Magicians can only have possessed very confused notions of the latter.[1]

Other indications adduced to show that the Book is not the work of a contemporary, are such as the following:—The improbability that Daniel, a strict Jew, should have suffered himself to be initiated into the class of Chaldean "wise men," or should have been admitted by the wise men themselves.[2]

How explain the assertion that Daniel, a strict Jew, was

[1] Cornill, p. 338. [2] Driver, p. 500, h.

made chief of the heathen sages of Babylon? (ii, 48, iv, 6).[1]

Assumptions Involved

There are several assumptions in these objections.

1. That a strict, or pious, Jew, and one true to the law, could not have been the chief of the "wise men" of Babylon without besmirching his reputation and injuring his character.

2. That a Jewish writer at the time of the Maccabees could have been capable of making the pious hero of a fiction to have been a member of the heathen society of magicians, or Chaldeans; but that it is improbable that a real Daniel of the sixth century B.C. can have been a member of such a class.

3. That an author thus writing can only have had very confused notions of what such magicians were.

4. That Daniel must have been initiated into the mysteries of such a society.

5. That the chief of such a society must himself have been guilty of practicing the black art.

6. That the wise men themselves admitted him into the class of the Chaldeans.

Answer to the Objections

Before proceeding to the discussion of these assumptions, let us quote in full the statements of the book of Daniel with reference to Daniel's relation to the wise men.

1. Nebuchadnezzar had him trained in the learning and tongue of the Chaldeans (Dan. i, 3–5) so that he might be able to stand before the king, and the king approved of his education (i, 18–20).

[1] Bevan, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 21.

2. God gave him grace and mercy before the prince of the eunuchs (i, 9) and knowledge and discernment in all literature (book-learning) and wisdom (i, 17).

3. The king of Babylon found him ten times better than all the magicians and enchanters which were in all his kingdom in all matters of wisdom and understanding (i, 20).

4. When the king called the magicians, enchanters, sorcerers and Chaldeans to tell the king his dream, Daniel was not among them (ii, 4–9). It was only when the king commanded to kill all the wise men of Babylon that they sought Daniel and his companions to slay them (ii, 13).

5. The king made Daniel great and chief of the *sagans* over the wise men of Babylon (ii, 46–49).

6. In iv, 9, he is called *rab hartumaya* or chief of the magicians, or sacred scribes.

7. In v, 11, the queen says that he had been made master of scribes, exorcists, astrologers (mathematicians), and fortune tellers.

8. He interpreted dreams and omens by the power of God given in answer to prayer (ii, 17–23).

We find in these passages the following points regarding Daniel:

1. He was taught all the book-learning and the languages of the Chaldeans, so that Nebuchadnezzar found him to be ten times better than the sacred scribes and enchanters (the *hartummim* and *ashshafim*) that were in all his kingdom.

2. God gave him knowledge and discernment in all book-learning and wisdom and ability through prayer to interpret dreams and omens.

3. He was among the wise men (*hakkimin*) of Babylon, but is not said to have been among the sacred

scribes, the priestly enchanters or exorcists, the sorcerers, or wizards, nor among the Chaldeans, astrologers, or mathematicians.

4. He was chief of the sagans over the wise men (*hakkamin*) of Babylon; and, also, chief of the sacred scribes, priestly enchanters, Chaldeans, or astrologers.

The six assumptions with regard to Daniel's relation to the "wise men" are so inextricably interwoven that we shall make a general discussion of the whole subject, aiming to show that they all are false. And first, it may be asked, if the objectors really think that it was wrong for a pious Jew to be taught the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans. If so, then Moses was wrong to be instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and Paul to have studied in the heathen university at Tarsus. Besides, the book says (i, 17) that "God gave him [*i. e.*, Daniel] knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom."

Or, can it have been wrong for him "to have understanding in all visions and dreams" (i, 17)? Then it must have been wrong for Joseph, also, to have interpreted the dreams of Pharaoh and his officers; and yet both Joseph himself and Pharaoh and Stephen attribute his ability to God. Besides, in the book of Daniel, both Daniel himself and the wise men and Nebuchadnezzar ascribe Daniel's power of interpreting dreams and visions to the direct intervention of God.

Or, did "the law" to which he is said to have been true, prohibit interpretations of dreams and visions?

As to dreams, one of the characteristics of the Elohist (E), as opposed to the Jehovist, is said to be his mentioning dreams so often. But this is always done without any blame being attached to the belief in them, or to an attempted interpretation of them. According

to Dillmann, Numbers xxii, 6, belongs to the Jehovist. It reads as follows: "If there be a prophet among you, I Jehovah will speak unto him in a dream." Certainly there is no disapprobation here. In Deuteronomy, the only reference to dreams is in the thirteenth chapter, where a prophet or a dreamer of dreams who should tempt the people to serve other gods is condemned to death; the dreamer being put in the same class as the prophet.

As to visions, the Jehovist in Genesis xv, 1, represents God as speaking to Abraham in a vision, and nearly all the great early prophets assert that God spake to them in visions; so that it is obvious that a belief neither in dreams nor in visions, nor in the interpretation of them, can have been wrong, in the opinion of the prophets. That Daniel, also, is said to have seen visions, is in harmony with the strictest orthodoxy and the most devoted piety of those that were true to the law from the earliest times down to the time when in the New Testament the young men saw visions and the old men dreamed dreams.

If Daniel, then, did anything unbecoming a strict Jew, it must have consisted in the fact that he allowed himself to be found in bad company, that there was something in the dogmas, or practices, of the "wise men," that was inconsistent with a man of piety becoming a master of their wisdom, even though he may not have accepted their dogmas, nor taken part in their practices.

Now, let us waive for the present the question as to whether Daniel did actually become a member of the society of the Chaldean wise men, and consider simply what were the tenets and practices of these so-called "wise men." At the outset, let it be said, that there is

much danger here of darkening words without knowledge, just because it is impossible for us with our present means of information to form a clear and correct conception of what the Babylonian wise men were. This difficulty is partly one of language, partly one of literature. As to literature, there is nothing from the Babylonians themselves bearing directly on the subject. As to language, it must be remembered that the terms in Daniel are either in a peculiar Aramaic dialect, or in Hebrew, and that it is impossible with our present knowledge to determine what Babylonian words are equivalent in meaning to the Aramaic and Hebrew expressions.

Taking up, first, the most general term used in Daniel, that which is translated by "wise men," we find that the Aramaic of Daniel expresses this idea by the word *hakkim*. This word and its congeners are employed in a good sense in every Aramaic dialect. So on the *Panammu Inscription* of about 725 B.C., from northern Syria, the king speaks of his *wisdom* and righteousness. So, also, in the Targum of Onkelos in Deut, i, 13, and after; where it regularly renders the Hebrew *hakam* "wise." So, also, the Samaritan Targum commonly translates the Hebrew word *hakam* by *hakkim;* an exception being Gen. xli, 8, where the Samaritan has the word קסם *sorcerer*. So, also, in the Syriac Aramaic, both in the Peshitto version of the Scriptures and elsewhere, the word is used in a good sense. This is true, likewise, in Arabic, both in the translation of the Scriptures and elsewhere. Lane, in his great Arabic dictionary, gives none but good senses for the root and its derivatives in general. *Hakim* is "a sage, a philosopher, a physician"; while *hikma* is "a knowledge of the true nature of things and acting according to the

requirements thereof." In Hebrew, moreover, the word "wise" is never used in a bad sense.[1] The only "wise men" who are condemned are those who are wise in their own eyes and not in reality (Is. v, 21). In later Hebrew, too, the wise are commended, as in Ecclesiasticus vi, 32, and in the Zadokite Fragments 2:3 and 6:3.

In Babylonian, the noun from this root has not been found, but the verb, which has been found several times, is used always in a good sense. The Assyrio-Babylonian language, however, has a number of words, which may be rendered by "wise man"; but not one of these is employed specifically or by itself to denote any class of sorcerers or astrologers; much less were these sorcerers the only wise men.[2]

In Ethiopic, also, according to Dillman's dictionary *hakim* and *tabib*, the latter the ordinary word for wise man, are used only in a good sense.[3]

[1] Pharaoh, Gen. xli, 8, and Ex. vii, 11; the king of Babylon, Jer. l, 35, and li, 57; the king of Gebal, Ezek. xxvii, 9; the king of Tyre, Ezek. xxvii, 8; king Solomon and his son Rehoboam, 2 Ch. ii, 13; Ahasuerus, Es. vi, 13; and Moses and the children of Israel, Deut. i, 13, Ex. xxviii, 3; —all have their wise men. "Wise men" are commended in Prov. xii, 18, xiii, 20, xiv, 3.

[2] The most common of these words is probably *mudu* from the root *idu*, "to know," a root common to Ass. Bab. with Aramaic and Hebrew. This word is used of the gods, Nebo and Shamash, of the kings like Sargon, Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar; and of other men, but always in a good sense.

Another word is *imku* (or *emku*) from a root also found in Hebrew meaning "to be deep." The inscriptions speak of the wise heart of Ea; of the wise princes Nabunaid and Nabu-balaṭsu-iḳbi; of Nebuchadnezzar the wise one (often); of the wise master-builders, etc.

Ershu (or *irshu*) from a root meaning "to decide" is used as an appellation for the gods Sin and Ea and for kings like Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar. *Itpishu*, also, is used of the gods Damkina, Nebo, and Ninib, and of the kings Sargon, Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar.

[3] *Ma'mer* from the verb *'amara* "to show, to know," is used often in the Ethiopic version of the Old Testament in the sense of "wizard"

From the uses of the words for wise men in the various Semitic languages, it is clear, therefore, that there can have been nothing wrong in belonging to the class of wise men as such. Nor does the Bible, nor Nebuchadnezzar, even intimate that there was. The wise men of the book of Daniel were to be slain because a tyrant in his wrath at a portion of them who claimed to do more than they were able to perform, or of whom at least the king demanded more than it was possible for them to know, had failed to meet his expectations. The decree to kill all was not justified by the offense of a portion merely of the so-called wise men. But even if it had been impossible for any of the wise men to meet the demand of the king, it would not prove that it was wrong for a pious Jew to be a wise man. What wise man of to-day would be able to tell a man a dream that he had forgotten? Such ignorance has nothing to do with piety. It is simply a limitation common to humanity. For as Daniel truly says, "The secret which the king was asking *no wise men* were able to make known, but there is a God in heaven who revealeth secrets." The wise men are not blamed for not knowing what God alone could know.

As to the word *'ashshaph* (magician) in the Hebrew of Daniel i, 20, ii, 2, and in the Aramaic of ii, 10, and the word *'asheph* of ii, 27, iv, 4, v, 7, 11, 15, it may be said, first, that neither derivative, nor root, occurs anywhere else in the Old Testament. Both the verb and several nouns occur in Syriac in the sense of "enchant, enchanter"; but not apparently in any other Aramaic

to translate the Greek *γνωστής*, Heb. *yidde'oni* and the Greek *στοχαστης*, Heb. *ḳosem*. It renders, also, the Greek *χαλδαῖοι* in Dan. ii, 2, and *γαζαρηνοι* in Dan. iv, 3, v, 15. In most of these cases the Arabic versions use *'arraf*, "wizard," from the verb *'arafa*, "to know."

dialect, nor in Arabic, nor Ethiopic. In Babylonian, however, the root is met with in various forms; and the two forms corresponding exactly to *'ashshaph* and *'asheph* are found also.[1]

What, then, is the meaning of the root and of the forms as we find them in Babylonian?[2]

From the authorities that we possess and the texts cited by them, it is evident, that in the estimation of the Babylonians the office and functions of the *'ashipu* and of the *'ashshapu* were beneficent to the community. They removed bans and exorcised evil spirits and disease and caused good visions and dreams. A common verb to denote their method of activity is *pasharu*, "to loose"; the same verb that is employed in Daniel to denote what they were expected by Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar to do. It was part of their business to see that "bad depressing dreams" (*shunati nashdati*) did not appear, caused by demons who "seized the side of one's bed and worried and attacked one."[3]

Another term found in Daniel[4] is *hartom* or *har-*

[1] A most remarkable fact in its bearing upon the correctness of the sources and transmission of the text of Daniel, when we consider that these words are not found outside of Assyrio-Babylonian except in the book of Daniel. In the Peshitto version of Daniel, *'ashuph* is used to translate both *'asheph* and *'ashshaph*. *'Ashshaph* is found in New Hebrew nowhere but in commentaries on Daniel. See Jastrow's Dict. *in loc.*

[2] The best sources of our information are Tallquist: *The Assyrian Incantation-series Maklu;* Zimmern in his chapter on the ritual table for the *'ashipu* found on pages 122–175 of his work entitled: *Contributions to the Knowledge of the Babylonian Religion* (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss*, etc.); the work of Dr. Walther Schrank: *Babylonian Rites of Purifications, especially in their relation to Priests and Exorcists* (*Babylonische Sühnriten besonders mit Rücksicht auf Priester und Büsser*); and King: *Babylonian Magic.*

[3] Frank, *Bab. Beschwörungsreliefs*, pp. 88, 90.

[4] In i, 20, and ii, 2, in Hebrew, and in ii, 10, 27, iv, 4, 6, and v, 11 in Aramaic.

tum. This word is found, also, in the Hebrew of Gen. xli, 8, 24, and in Ex. vii, 11, 22, viii, 3, 14, 15, ix, 11 (*bis*). Since this word occurs in no other Aramaic dialect except that of Daniel, no light upon its meaning in Daniel can be derived from these sources.[1] When we remember the part which the name bears in Egyptian sorcery, we can well believe, however, that their chief sorcerers received their designation from the fact that they had power in calling names,[2] and that the Arameans and Hebrews adopted the name to denote those who bound or freed by the power of names.

[1] In the Aramaic of the Targum of Onkelos, of the Samaritan Targum, and of the Syriac Peshitto, *hartom* is always rendered by *harrash*, except in the Peshitto of Daniel v, 11, where it is rendered "wise men." The Arabic of Saadya's translation of the Pentateuch renders it by *ulema*, "wise men," except in Ex. vii, 11, 22, where it has *sahana*, "enchanter." The Arabic of Daniel always gives *rakka*, "charmer." The usual translation in the LXX and Theodotion is *'epaoidos*, "enchanter"; though it is rendered by "wise men" in the LXX of Daniel i, 20, and ii, 10. The derivation and primary meaning of the word are so uncertain that it is impossible to dogmatize about them. Probably the majority of scholars who have discussed the subject derive the word from *heret*, "stylus," by affixing an *m*. The meaning then would be scribe, or engraver; and the word would correspond in sense to the Egyptian sacred scribe spoken of by the Greek writers.

Hoffman compares it to an Arabic word with the same four radicals meaning "nose," and would make the original sense to have been one who sang through the nose, hence "chanter," "having the nose in the air." Lane defines the word as having the meaning "chief," "foremost in affairs and in the military forces." Nearly everyone quotes the opinions of Jablonsky and Rossi that it may be an Egyptian word denoting "thaumaturgus" or "guardian of secret things"; but these are both so far-fetched as to be most unlikely. It would, according to the rules of transliteration from Egyptian into Hebrew, be capable of derivation from *hr*, "chief," and *dm*, "to name," and would then mean "chief of the spellbinders."[1]

[2] Compare the significance attributed to the name of Solomon in the Arabian Nights.

[1] See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, i. 168; and Griffith's *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*.

This power of the name played a prominent part in Babylonian religion also. In the treatment of disease, the name of the demon or disease to be exorcised had to be mentioned, and, also, the name of the god by whose power the exorcism was accomplished. In order to gain the help of the god without which the devil or demon could not be expelled, the priests would recite his praises and chant their prayers and supplications; and from this essential factor of the art of exorcism arose perhaps the hymns of praise which are so often found among the incantations of the Babylonians.[1]

As to the meaning of *gazer*, the last term employed in Daniel to denote classes of wise men, very little can be said positively. The root does not occur in Assyrio-Babylonian; nor is a word from the root having a satisfactory meaning to be found in any other Aramaic dialects, nor in Arabic, Hebrew, or Ethiopic.[2]

[1] See Shrank: *Babylonische Sühnriten*, pp. 20–27; Thompson: *The Devils and Evil Spirits in Babylonia and Assyria, passim;* Jastrow: *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens;* and Rogers: *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 146. Compare also the numerous cases of this kind of magic in the Arabian Nights.

[2] In Hebrew, the verb *gazar* is found in the meaning "decide, decree," in Job. xxii, 28, where Eliphaz says to Job: "Thou shalt also *decree* a thing and it shall be established unto thee"; and in Esther ii, 1, where it is said that Ahasuerus remembered Vashti and what had been *done* against her. The Targum of Onkelos uses it in Ex. xv, 25, to translate the verb "to establish" in the phrase "to establish a statute," as the equivalent of the Hebrew *sim*, to establish. This passage may afford us the missing link with which to connect the Aramaic *gazer* with the Babylonian, *shamu*=Heb. *sim*. The *mushim shimtu* is "the decreer of decrees, or oracles." We may compare the synonym of *shimtu*, i. e., *paristu*, "oracle," which is from a root meaning "to cut, decide," just as *gezira*, "decree," in Aramaic is from the root *gezar*, "to cut, decide." *Gazer*, then, would be the translation of the Babylonian *mushim*, or *paris*, and could mean a man who made out, or conveyed to men the decrees of the gods. He would be the earthly representative of the

The Hebrew word *mekashshefim* is never used of the wise men. In Daniel ii, 2, the only place in which it occurs in the book, the English version renders it by *sorcerers*. Neither the root of this word nor any derivation of the root was used in this sense in any Aramaic dialect.[1]

The Hebrew employs the noun *kashp* always in the bad sense of an "evil enchantment," and the *nomen agentis* of this is equivalent in meaning to the English "wizard, witch, or sorcerer." The word for "witchery or witchcraft" is found six times in the Hebrew Bible, to wit: in Is. xlvii, 9, 12; Mi. v, 11; Na. iii, 4 *bis*, and in 2 Ki. ix, 22. The word *mekashsheph*, "wizard or sorcerer," is found in Deut. xviii, 10, Ex. vii, 11; Mal. iii, 5, and Dan. ii, 2, while its feminine occurs in Ex. xxii, 17. The verb *kishsheph* is found only in 2 Ch. xxxiii, 6. All of these except the participial form are found in Babylonian and were probably borrowed from it; or possibly go back to a time when Babylonian and Hebrew were one. The Sumerian sign *uh* denotes the Babylonian words for "poison, spittle, blood, and *kishpu*." Perhaps the best illustration of the relation of witchcraft to the dream of Nebuchadnezzar is to be found in the prayer addressed to Marduk by a sick man through his priest (*mashmashu*). As King translates this portion of the prayer in his *Babylonian Magic*, p. 62, it reads:

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heavenly "*mushim*" of Ea, or of Bel, and the other great gods who establish the fates. *Obelisk of Shalmaneser III*, obv. 5, 14.

His place of abode, and activity, may well have been the "Dul-Azag," "place of fates," "chamber of fates," of which Nebuchadnezzar speaks (Langdon, xv, Col. ii, 54, and Col. v, 12–14) and which Delitzsch thinks to have been "the earthly image of the heavenly Upshukkinnaku."

[1] In the Syriac the verb is used in a good sense for "to pray."

> O my God, by the command of thy mouth may there never approach any evil, the magic of the sorcerer and of the sorceress (*upish kashshapi u kashshapti*); may there never approach me the poisons of the evil men; may there never approach the evil of charms of powers and portents of heaven and of earth.

In number 50, 22, of the same book Ashurbanipal prays that his god may free him from evil bewitchment (*pushir kishpiya*), using the same verb which we find so often in Daniel for "interpret." To practice sorcery was punishable with death by drowning, according to the law of Hammurabi.[1] This was the law also, among the Hebrews: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Ex. xxii, 17). The question might be asked, then, why Nebuchadnezzar summoned the sorcerers to interpret his dream. The text given in Behrens[2] would explain this, if we accept the reading which permits the translation: "from before the wind may the king be bewitched."[3] According to this, a man might be bewitched for his good against some evil. This, then, may have been the reason why Nebuchadnezzar summoned the wizards. They sent bad dreams; therefore, they should explain them, and tell what they had sent.[4]

[1] Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*, sec. 2.

[2] *Ass. Bab. Briefe Cultischen Inhalts*, p. 17.

[3] *Ishtu pan zigi sharru likashshaph.*

See also Harper, vii, 660, and i, 18, 11, and 25; and Behrens, p. 16.

[4] It must be remembered, too, that the *Piel* stem in Hebrew may express "the taking away of the object denoted by the noun," *e. g.*, *chitte'*, "to take away sin"; *dishshen*, "to take away the ashes"; *sheresh*, "to root out." (See Cowley's Gesenius, §52h.) This usage is found, also, in Arabic, Aramaic, and New Hebrew (see Wright's *Arab. Gram.*, vol. i, §41 and Siegfried & Strack's *N. H. Gram*). If we take the intensive in this sense in *likashshaph*, it would mean "may [the king] be freed from witchcraft." This privative sense may possibly occur in the phrase

The results of this investigation of the names of the classes of wise men mentioned in the Book of Daniel might be summed up by saying that the *'ashephs* and *'ashshaphs* were certainly exorcists who used chants and purifications (?) to drive out disease and to avert calamity; that the *mekashshephs* were wizards, who bound their victims by means of philters, spittle, etc., and had power to send bad dreams and evil spirits among them, as well as to release them from the witcheries which they had caused; that the *gazers* and *kaldus* were astrologers and augurs, who told fortunes, foretold plagues, interpreted omens and dreams, forecasted horoscopes or nativities, etc.; that the *hartums* were sacred scribes who wrote prescriptions and formulas for the use of the sick and those who attempted to cure them, and "spellbinders" who bound and loosed by the power of names of potency; and that the *hakims*, or wise men, embraced all these and others who were not included in these classes. Daniel was found by Nebuchadnezzar to be ten times better than all the *'ashshaphs* and *hartums* of Babylon. He was made chief, or master, of the king's wise men (ii, 48), and of his *hartums* (v, 11), and of all the classes mentioned, except apparently the wizards,—as to whom it is not said, at least, that he ever had anything to do with them. It will be noted that nowhere in the Bible is connection with *'ashephs*, *'ashshaphs*, *hartums*, *gazers*, *kaldus*, or *hakkims*, expressly forbidden. Only the *hakkims*, *hartums*, and *mekashshephs* are ever mentioned outside of Daniel. The first of these three are always spoken of with praise; the second without praise or blame; and the last only

ramankunu ina pan ili la tuhattaa of K. 84, 24, *i. e.*, "Before God ye shall not free yourselves from sin"; and also in *dannati*, "distress," *i. e.*, "deprived of strength." (See King, *Magic*, p. 94.)

with condemnation. "A pious Jew," therefore, "and one true to the law," may certainly have studied, at least, the sciences and arts practiced by these uncondemned classes, without laying himself open to the charge of breaking the letter of the law. We see no reason, either, why he may not have studied all about the practices of the wizards without himself being a sorcerer.

Besides, we think it may be rightly doubted that a pious Jew, that is, one deemed pious according to the estimation of the Jews of the time of the author of Daniel,—whenever he lived and wrote,—cannot have been an astrologer and an exorcist and a dream interpreter. Josephus cites, apparently with approval, a statement of Berosus, to the effect that "Abram was a man righteous and great among the Chaldeans and skillful in the celestial science.[1] He says, also, that one of the Egyptian

> sacred scribes (*hierogrammaticoi*), who were very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king that about this time there would be a child born of the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low and would raise the Israelites; that he would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages.[2]

This same scribe attempted to kill Moses at a later time, when as a child and having been adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, he cast to the ground and trod upon the crown of Pharaoh which the latter had placed upon his head; thus attesting, said the priest, his prediction that this child would bring the dominion of

[1] *Antiq.*, I, vii, 2.

[2] *Antiq.*, I, vii, 2.

Egypt low.[1] "Because of this prophecy the Egyptians abstained from killing him and later made Moses general of their army against the Ethiopians in response to their own oracles and presages."[2]

As to Solomon, moreover, God granted him to learn the science of demonology for the profit and service of men, and he composed epodes[3] by which diseases are assuaged; and he left behind him methods of treatment for exorcists by which those who are bound drive out the demons so that they never return, and this method of practice prevails with us even now; for I have seen a certain one of my own country whose name was Eleazar, in the presence of Vespasian and his sons and his chiliarchs and the multitude of his soldiers, releasing people who had been seized by these demons, the skill and wisdom of Solomon being thus clearly established.[4]

Josephus, moreover, professes that not merely he himself had prophetic dreams, but that he had a certain power in interpreting them.[5]

According to the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel, the king of Egypt in Moses' time had a dream in which he saw all the land of Egypt put in one scale of a balance and in the other a lamb which was heavier than all the land of Egypt; upon which he sent and called all the enchanters (*harrash*) of Egypt and told them his dream; whereupon Jannes and Jambres, the chiefs of the enchanters, opened their mouths and said to Pharaoh: "A boy is about to be born in the congregation of Israel,

[1] *Antiq.*, II, ix, 7. [2] *Id.*

[3] That is, chants, such as were used by the enchanters of Babylon and Egypt and by the Magi. Herodotus, I, 132.

[4] *Antiq.*, VIII, ii, 5.

[5] See *Wars of the Jews*, III, viii, 3, 9.

through whose hand all the land of Egypt is to be destroyed."[1]

In the book of Tobit, an evil spirit is said to have been exorcised by means of the liver of a fish.[2]

In the Acts of the Apostles,[3] Simon Magus practiced his arts of magic by using the power of *names* to drive out evil spirits.

The Lord, also, refers to such practices among the Jews of his time, when he says: "If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out?"[4]

We have thus shown that according to the views of the Scriptures and of the ancient Jews at all times, there was nothing wrong either in dreams or in the interpretation of them; and that Jewish opinion as preserved in Josephus, the book of Tobit, the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel, and elsewhere, did not condemn the use of incantations and the practice of exorcism and other similar arts.

Finally, we come to consider the question as to whether Daniel is said to have been a member of any of these classes of dream-interpreters which are mentioned in his book. It will be noted that he is never called a *hartum* nor an *'ashshaph,* but is said to have been ten times better than all of them in knowledge and wisdom. It is not said either that he was an *'asheph* nor a *mekashsheph* nor a *gazer*, nor a *kaldu*. That he was a *hakim* is rightly inferred from the fact that he was sought for to be killed, when the decree went forth that all the wise men should be killed; but elsewhere he is always called chief (*rab*) of the wise men, or of the *hartums*, or of three or four classes together. He is, in fact, called chief of all classes, except of the *mekash-*

[1] See T. J. ben Uzziel to Ex. i, 15.
[2] See chapters vi and viii.
[3] See chapter viii.
[4] Matt. xii, 27.

shephs, the only class which is directly condemned by law. Once he is called chief of the *sagans* over all the wise men of Babylon. This phrase we shall discuss below. At present, let us look at the meaning of the word *rab*, "chief," in its relation to the objects, or persons, over which the *rab* was set. The only point we need to discuss in this connection, is whether the *rab* was necessarily of the same class and practicer of the same arts and crafts as those who were set under him. It might seem to most to be sufficient merely to state as an obvious fact not needing proof that he might have been chief of the *hartums* and others without himself being one. But as some have controverted it, and seem to think that Daniel must have been an individual of the same kind as those over whom he was set as chief, it may be well to pause and discuss the term *rab*, as it is used.

In Arabic *rab* is the most ordinary title of God, occurring in the Koran as a designation of the deity only less frequently than the word *Allah* itself. He is the lord of all creatures, not because he is like them or of them, but as their maker and preserver and ruler and owner. So a master of slaves is not a slave, but the owner of the slaves, the *dominus*. In Hebrew, *rab* meant captain, or master, or chief. Thus, Nebuzaradan was *captain* of the guard (Jer. xli, 10); Ashpenaz was *master* of the eunuchs (Dan. i. 3); Ahasuerus had *officers* of his house (Est. i. 8); Jonah's ship had its *master* of the ropes (Jon. i, 6). In Assyrio-Babylonian the word was of much more general use than in Arabic or Hebrew. There were *rabs* set over the gardens of the king, over the watering machines, over the treasury, over the stables, the courts, the flocks, the house, the temple, the cities, the prisoners; over the governors, the cap-

tains, the bowmen, and the divisions of the army; over the merchants, the builders (?), the seers, enchanters, and exorcists; there was a captain of the king, a chief of the captains, or princes, of the king, and a *rab* of the sons of the king, and a chief of the house of Belshazzar the son of the king.

It will be noted that the *'ashiph*, the *mashmash*, the *bari* (or seers), and the *zimmeri*, or enchanters, all have a chief. One should remark, further, that a *rab* does not necessarily perform the duties of the ones over whom he is set. The soldiers were directed by their *rab* and led by him; but doubtless did many menial duties from which he would be exempt. The *rab* of the sons of the king may have been beneath them in birth, but would be their teacher. No one would hold the *rab* responsible for all of the acts or beliefs of the scholar, any more than he would hold Seneca responsible for Nero, or Bossuet for Louis XV. The chief of the chiefs of the king would probably be the highest chief, or lord, next to the king, according to the common Semitic idiom for expressing the superlative by putting a noun in the singular before the same noun in the plural, as in the phrase "king of kings and lord of lords." From these examples, it is evident that a *rab* may or may not have been of the same knowledge, class, dignity, or practice, as those over whom he was placed. We have had secretaries of the navy who were not trained at Annapolis. England has had ministers of war who were not distinguished generals. France has had in her cabinet ministers of religion who were not ecclesiastics. So the fact that Daniel was made *rab* of the wise men, or of the *hartums*, and others, does not prove that he was one of them, or that he did what they did. The book of Daniel says he knew ten times more of real

knowledge and wisdom than all the *'ashephs* and *hartums* of Babylon; and that he got his knowledge as dream-interpreter from God through prayer, and not by divination or sorcery. It never calls him a *hartum*, an *'ashshaph*, an *'asheph*, a *mekashsheph*, a *kaldu*, or a *gazer;* but a man who was made wise through study, abstinence, and the favor of God. He may have known all the mysteries of the Babylonian seers, priests, and enchanters; but there is no evidence in the book of Daniel, nor anywhere else, to show that Daniel practiced the black art, nor the heathen methods of divination in any form, nor to show that he became a member of any of these orders. It is said simply that he was the superior of these in knowledge and wisdom and in power of interpretation of dreams and omens. The means he used were proper according to the precepts and examples of the Scriptures.

As to his being *rab* of the Babylonian sorcerers of whatever class, this was an appointment of the king. What duties or functions were involved in the office we know not. It may have been simply an honorary title, or the grant of a position of precedency in court functions and ceremonies. That it did not imply a permanent position with onerous duties and continuous service, would seem to follow from the fact that the queen mother had to recall to Belshazzar that Nebuchadnezzar had ever made the appointment. So that, in conclusion, we can fairly claim that the case against the author of Daniel, on the ground that he makes his hero, though a pious Jew, to have been a member of a class of Chaldean wise men contrary to the Jewish law, has not been made out. The charge has not been proven. On the contrary, the account of Daniel has been shown to be entirely consistent with itself and with the prerequi-

site historical surroundings, supposing it to be a record of events which took place at Babylon in the sixth century B.C.

CONCLUSION

In the above discussion we have shown that the six assumptions mentioned on page 370 are all false and that the objection to the historicity of the book of Daniel on the ground that a strict Jew cannot have been made chief of the heathen sages of Babylon, nor initiated into their class, is unsupported by the evidence drawn from the Jews themselves, as well as from the monuments, as to what the character of the wise men really was. We have shown, further, that the objection, if valid, would militate as much against the ideas of the pious Jews in the second century B.C., as against those held by them in the sixth century B.C.; inasmuch as the literary conception of such a character and the reception of a work based on such a conception would be as much against their ideas as the historical existence of such a man would be. Moreover, we have shown that "the confused notions" about Daniel in his relations to the wise men of Babylon, as well as about these wise men, are true not so much of the author of Daniel as of those who criticize the statements of the book in reference to them. And finally, we have shown that there is no reason for believing that Daniel may not have been and done all that the book of Daniel says that he was and did, without any infringement of the law or the prophets, or contravention of the religious ideas of the Jews at any time of their history.

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